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THE
PRIVATE LIFE
OF
LEWIS XV.

VOL. III.

THE

PRIVATE LIFE

OF

LEWIS & CLARK

VOLUME III

THE
PRIVATE LIFE
OF
LEWIS XV.

IN WHICH ARE CONTAINED
THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS,
REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES,
AND ANECDOTES,
OF HIS REIGN.

— VIDEO MELIORA, PROBOQUE,
DETERIORA SEQUOR. Hor.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH
BY J.O. JUSTAMOND, F.R.S.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.
VOL. III.

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M.DCC.LXXXI,

THE
PRIVATE LIFE
OF
J. F. W. H. A. N. S. O. N

A HISTORY OF THE
PRIVATE LIFE OF
J. F. W. H. A. N. S. O. N
AND HIS WIFE
J. F. W. H. A. N. S. O. N

THE PRIVATE LIFE OF
J. F. W. H. A. N. S. O. N
AND HIS WIFE
J. F. W. H. A. N. S. O. N
IN THE YEAR 1840
J. F. W. H. A. N. S. O. N

THE PRIVATE LIFE OF
J. F. W. H. A. N. S. O. N
AND HIS WIFE
J. F. W. H. A. N. S. O. N
IN THE YEAR 1840
J. F. W. H. A. N. S. O. N

T H E
P R I V A T E L I F E
O F
L E W I S X V.

IF any thing could have afforded consolation to France, for their recent loss of Marshal Saxe, it would have been the long-wished-for birth of the Duke of Burgundy; but nature brings forth thousands of Princes before it produces one hero. Nevertheless, this event occasioned all that joy and transport to which the French, ever zealous for the propagation of their masters, give themselves up with so much warmth of affection. There were festivals and rejoicings throughout the kingdom. The most august persons, or at least the Ministry, were seized with a philosophic spirit. A new plan was adopted, and, in order to render an expence—which till that time had been as frivolous as the vain and idle pageantry which had been the object of it—advantageous both to the State and to individuals, the Provost of Merchants, and the Sheriffs of the city of

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1754. Paris, were ordered to employ the money destined for those purposes of festivity, to give portions to indigent young women. His Majesty, on his part, gave up to his people four millions * on the taxes; this was a fallacious benefaction, inasmuch as this deficiency in the Exchequer, not being compensated by any self-denial of the King's, by any retrenchment in his household or personal expences, or in his profusions towards his Courtiers, must necessarily, sooner or later, be supplied by an increase of taxes.

However this may be, the chamber of the city, in consequence of his Majesty's orders, married off six hundred young women. These weddings were celebrated with great pomp and solemnity in the different parishes of Paris. The example was followed in several provinces, by some bodies and communities, and by individuals who were desirous of signaling their zeal. The Marchioness of Pompadour gave dowries, and married off all the young women who were marriageable, upon her estates. M. de Montmartel, King's Treasurer, did the same, as did likewise many of the first Nobility, and other wealthy people, in humble imitation of their master. Admitting, therefore, that this stroke of policy and humanity in the Government brought on two thousand weddings in the kingdom, fourteen years after this, in 1765, an author † calculated that they might have added to the population from fifteen to sixteen thousand souls.

* Upwards of one hundred and sixty thousand pounds.

† The author of the *Historical Journal of the reign of Lewis XV.*

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Soon after the birth of the young Prince, there was a great alarm raised on his account. Among the women of secondary rank, who were placed about him, there was a Madame Sauvé, who had formerly dealt in fish, but had since become mistress of the Count d'Argenson. This woman was ambitious, of an intriguing spirit, desirous, at any rate, of emerging from obscurity, and consequently not over nice in the means she employed to succeed in it. One day she ran in a fright to the Dutchess of Tallard, Governess to the Prince, declaring, that among the number of people, admitted to see the Duke of Burgundy, she observed one throwing something in his cradle. The King was made acquainted with this fact, and the whole Court shuddered at the information. A parcel was found filled with some powders, which, upon being analyzed, were found to contain nothing but cinders. Some trick was suspected; the informer was interrogated, and was forced to own, that the great desire she had of making herself more conspicuous, and more regarded, had prompted her to that imposture. The Minister who protected her, was obliged to give her up: he himself issued the letter *de Cachet*, to send her to the Bastille, where she remained for several years, in close confinement.

The Court was scarcely recovered from the panic, which this event had produced, when they were plunged into a more real occasion of grief, by the loss of Madame Henriette, who died at the age of twenty-four, beloved, esteemed, and regretted by all those who had the honour to approach her. The King especially, whom she resembled more than any other of her sisters, was excessively affected. Ma-

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dame de Pompadour redoubled her zeal to divert his Majesty. That charming house, her august lover had built for her upon the borders of the Seine—and of which the name of *Belle-vue*, given to it, already bespoke its enchanting situation—was the spot she fixed upon, as the properest to dissipate his grief, by its novelty, its air, and the voluptuous taste in which it was laid out, which surpassed every thing of the kind. Here she caused those little pieces to be represented, in which she performed herself. *Venus and Adonis* were acted. The Monarch was described under the name of the tenderest of mortals, and his mistress under that of the Queen of Beauty. Afterwards the *Impromptu de la Cour de Marbre*, was played; an allegorical piece, upon the birth of a successor to the throne. Her intention was to pay her court to the Dauphin, and to all the Royal Family; this had no better success, than the entertainment she had given upon the recovery of the father.

1 Aug.
1752.

The Dauphin was seized with the small-pox, at an age, and in a season of the year, when this disorder, which is at all times very dangerous, is most likely to become fatal. It soon manifested itself by the most alarming symptoms. His august partner, knowing how much the Prince dreaded this disorder, in order to conceal the nature of his illness from him, caused a French Gazette to be composed on purpose, where, in the account that was given of his complaint, such as he felt it, the name and the nature of it, was disguised. She did not confine her cares to this delicate attention; she never quitted his bed-side during the day-time, and did not leave the room till very far in the night. She rendered him the most disgusting services,

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vices, to such a degree, that Doctor Pouffe, a famous Physician, but rough, and not acquainted with the Court, mistook her for a person that was hired to attend the Dauphin. *There is*, said he, pointing her out to somebody, *an invaluable nurse, What is her name?* Upon being answered that it was the Dauphiness, in expressing his regret at not having paid all the respect to her that she deserved; "Well," added he, "let our precious Ladies of Paris refuse now to nurse their sick husbands, I will talk to them plainer than I ever did; I will send them to this school." When it was represented to this Princess, that she exposed herself too much: *What does it signify if I die*, exclaimed she, *provided he lives; France will never want a Dauphiness.* The Dauphin, during his convalescence, being still more sensible of the obligations he owed to his virtuous consort, endeavoured to erase from his memory the image of his first wife, which still existed in his heart. He had carried his weakness to such a degree, as to insist upon it, that the present Dauphiness should wear bracelets with the miniature-portrait of the deceased: he now got rid of all the objects which revived in him an idea, too much regretted—shewed more and more attention to the present Princess—and gratitude supplied the place of love.

The King not being able to avoid infringing, for this time, a law which he had imposed upon himself, of not shewing himself any more to the Parisians, came with the Queen, the Dauphin, and all the Royal Family, to Notre Dame, in order to return solemn thanks to God for the re-establishment of the health of the heir apparent to the Crown, and they assisted at the *Te Deum* that was sung there.

1754.
1 Aug.

During the time of the Dauphin's illness, and convalescence, the Marquis of Paulmy visited all the places belonging to the southern provinces of France, as well as the troops, in quality of Assistant Minister for the war department. He continued that important operation, begun in Flanders by his uncle, at the peace; the business was, to order such repairs and improvements in the frontier towns as they were capable of admitting. The other Ministers were instigated by a laudable emulation; for the Minister of the marine department was gone to examine into the situation of Dieppe, and other ports in the Channel. M. de Paulmy, at his return, gave an account to the King, that the people, in all the parts he had passed through, had expressed the most lively interest in the double event that had taken place, by their grief and joy; but that he had been especially edified by the conduct of the Protestants of those parts, who, at a time when they were calumniated, and accused of having had, during the war, an intention of revolt, and that they were still supposed to be disaffected, were assembled in their churches, imploring Heaven for the preservation of the Dauphin.

This Prince was at that time little respected in the nation. During his infancy, his wit was the general topic of conversation. But, at the close of his education, and especially after his second marriage, he did not seem to have any. He was esteemed for his conduct and morals, but he was looked upon as a bigot, who spent the greatest part of the day in singing psalms in the choir—who was scandalized at seeing a neck uncovered*—and who, like Moliere's

* See the XXVth Letter, of the first part of Letters de Madame de Pompadour.

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Tartuffe, thought it necessary that a decent handkerchief should veil such a scandalous sight. A thousand trifling and childish strokes were reported of him. However, during his illness, the French—who are merely led by that blind attachment which characterizes them, for the blood of their masters, let them be what they may—saw only the hopes of the kingdom in the Dauphin, and expressed the most lively transports of joy upon his recovery. Among the Princes, the Duke of Orleans, in whom the death of the Dauphin might have raised the greatest expectations, had the policy to signalize his joy at his recovery, by the most superb entertainments; and the favourite, who knew how much he hated and detested her in his heart, affected to shew her zeal by a new allegorical entertainment on account of this fortunate event. She communicated the piece to the King, before it was performed, as an effort of her genius. The scene, which was likewise at the castle of *Belle-vue*, represented several caverns, surrounded by a piece of water, in the middle of which was an illuminated dolphin*: a number of monsters, spouting fire and flames, were advancing to attack it; but Apollo came down upon a cloud from heaven, all the Deities of which took a part in the spectacle, and struck these monsters with thunderbolts, after which they were totally destroyed by artificial fire-works. To this decoration succeeded, in a moment, the palace of the Sun, resplendent with light, where the dolphin appeared again in it's former lustre. The Monarch was too much infatuated with

* *Dauphin*, in French, means both the Dauphin, and the fish which we call a dolphin.

1754. his mistress, not to applaud her; and the insipid Courtiers, who were admitted to this entertainment, thought it delightful; but when they returned to Paris, they owned that no idea could be more trivial, more flat, or more ridiculous.

The most singular circumstance is, that neither the hero, who was the object of the festival, nor even any of the Royal Family, were present. There was an established rupture between them and the Marchioness. However, if the entertainment had been ever so good, it would have had no effect towards a reconciliation with the Dauphin. This Prince, a little before he was taken ill with the small-pox, had received a mortification which he had not forgotten. M. Silvester, his Drawing Master, had solicited the place of Keeper of the drawings of the King's cabinet, vacant by the death of Coypel; and M. Cochin the son, favourite of the Marquis de Vandieres, being preferred, Silvester, with all the acrimony of disappointed vanity—which is still more irritable in artists, if possible, than in authors—wrote him upon this subject a very indecent letter, reproaching him with his choice. The Marquis carried the letter to his sister, who shewed it to the King; and his Majesty sent M. Silvester to *Fort l'Evêque*. It required all the interest of his august scholar, to get him out of this scrape.

Lewis XV. made amends to the Marchioness of Pompadour for the contempt she received from his son, by conferring new favours upon her. In order to shew her how much he was satisfied with her entertainment, he had granted her the *Tabouret*, and the honours attached to the rank of a Dutchess.

It

It may be easily imagined how much the Dauphin was provoked at it; he, who the first time this beauty had been presented to him, in saluting her according to the ceremonial, had, by an affronting action *, expressive of his disgust—though she could not perceive it, but which had, been remarked by all the spectators—strongly shewn how much this ceremony was displeasing to him. This had occasioned his being banished for some time from the King's presence, 1754.

The Princes of the blood were more tractable, that is to say, more servile. They obtained favours through her means; they did not sit down in her presence. The Prince of Conti alone, never would prostrate himself at the feet of the idol; he had even treated her with haughtiness, or rather had taught her what was due from her to him. One day, when she suffered him to remain in the posture of a suppliant, he sat down upon her bed, and said, *Madame, voila un coucher excellent* †. It may easily be imagined, how much she was affronted at the speech, and the action, and how displeasing it was to his Majesty. He did not love the Prince before, but from this time, when he had given so good a lesson to his mistress, the King detested him. The Prince of Conti appeared no more at Versailles, except at ceremonies of parade, and to keep up appearances.

The Prince of Condé, already devoured by ambition, and greedy of appointments and favours, though very young, was the most servile attendant upon the will of the Marchioness. He accepted

* It is said that the Dauphin lolled out his tongue when he saluted her.

† *This is an exceeding good bed, Madam.*

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from her hands Mademoiselle de Soubise, daughter to the Prince of that name, who was the King's friend, and consequently the meanest of his mistress's Courtiers. This marriage was disgusting to the other Princes of the blood. Being assembled in the King's closet to sign the contract, in which the father-in-law had taken the title of *Most High and Most Mighty Prince*, they declined, because they could not countenance, by their signature, a quality which belonged to them alone, in right of their birth. They desired, in case his Majesty should command them to sign, that he would permit them to enter a protest beforehand; which was agreed upon. Three months were allowed them, at the same time, to produce their title to these exclusive pretensions.

The House of Rohan had already a dispute of the same kind with the Nobility, the origin of which is curious. An Abbé d'Aubenton, author of letters in favour of the Clergy, respecting their dispute on the affair of the *Vingtième*, formerly tutor to Cardinal Soubise, being dissatisfied with that family, which, in his opinion, had not supported him sufficiently by their credit, to maintain him in his place of Superior at the college of *Maitre Gervais* at Paris, of which he had been deprived, was determined to revenge himself.

The day that Prince René presented his petition to the Sorbonne, the Abbé went there to require of the Dean to shew him the deeds by which the distinction was granted to the House of Rohan, of disputing with their gloves and hat on. The Dean having declined to satisfy him upon this subject, he went to the Marquis de Beaufremont, and inflamed him

1754.

him so much as to induce him to cause it to be signified to the Dean, that he would oppose, as well in his own name, as in that of the Nobility, the granting of any privilege to the House of Rohan, protesting, &c. The Verger did not dare to make the signification, till the act holden by Prince René was concluded; but as it was not much attended to, M. de Beaufremont presented, on the 5th of December 1752, a petition to the Parliament, where, in the name of the Nobility over which his grandfather presided at the last meeting of the States, he asked permission to summon the Dean of the Sorbonne, that he might produce the claim upon which was founded that pretended privilege of the House of Rohan—and that till then the Doctors, Licentiates, and other members of the faculty of Divinity, should be ordered not to grant unto the aforesaid House, the liberty to arrogate to themselves any rights or privileges to the prejudice of the Nobility.

The Court promised the summons, and the King having taken the matter into his own hands, pronounced sentence upon the whole.

At the same time he established to the House of Rohan, as well as to that of Bouillon, the possession of the title they had assumed, of Most high and most excellent Prince, and annulled the protest of the Princes of the Blood; but the latter having presented a petition to the King against his decision, his Majesty, unwilling to occasion any concern to the Marchioness of Pompadour, who interested herself in the strongest manner in this affair, and not venturing at the same time to give a positive decision,

1754. sion, adopted his usual mode, and wrote them the following letter :

"I will neither decide, nor suffer to be decided, whether Messieurs de Rohan are Princes or not, but I choose that all things should remain in the same state they were in before the marriage of the Prince of Condé with Mademoiselle de Soubise; and the signatures of the contract are not to be understood to prejudice or to favour the rights and pretensions of either party."

This was, in fact, deciding in favour of the Princes, not of the Blood. It is well known, that such kinds of questions, far from becoming more clear in the course of time, can only be more embarrassed; but Lewis XV. was determined to live in peace, and not give any cause of discontent.

Madame de Pompadour was of the same mind upon this occasion; she was fond of one party, and wished to keep well with the other. She was flattered with the idea of having been in some sort a mediatrix between these great persons, and her vanity was increased by it.

Since she had obtained the rank of Dutches, she had given herself a greater scope, and in order to be conveniently lodged, had set apart about 600,000 livres † for the purchase of the hotel d'Evreux. A Knight of the Order of Saint Lewis was her Gentleman Usher; a young lady of family was her first Gentlewoman of the bedchamber; her Steward was a proctor of the Chatelet, named Colin, for whom likewise she obtained the honour

† Twenty-five thousand pounds.

of the Cross, on account of his belonging to an office in that order.

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Her vanity, desirous that her brother should keep pace in some proportion with the dignities with which she was loaded by the King, would have led her from that time to wish that he might be advanced to the blue riband. The Monarch, who could refuse her nothing, was very much inclined to it; but a Nobleman of his Court, whom he consulted, having only answered by a jest, saying that, *le poisson n'étoit pas assez gros pour être mis au bleu* †, Lewis XV. who had a good understanding, comprehended the refined meaning of this raillery, and gave the matter up, till some years after, when the Marquis de Vandieres having received his second metamorphosis, and become Marquis de Marigny, the place of Secretary of the order was given to him; an office which requires no proofs of Nobility. To pave the way for this dignity, in the letters patent creating this Marquisate in his favour, the King had declared that this new Nobleman should enjoy all the honours belonging to the high Nobility, and to people of quality, and he was presented at Court under the last title.

12 Oct.

But the object on whom the favourite concentrated all her attachments, was an only daughter, called Mademoiselle or Madame Alexandrine, and put by that title upon a par with young ladies of the highest birth, and even with the daughters of Sovereigns. She was very beautiful, having all

* *The fish is not big enough to be dressed with blue sauce; alluding to the Marquis de Vandiere's real name, which was Poisson, and to a manner in which the French sometimes dress large fish.*

the

1754. the graces of her mother: she was brought up at the Convent of Assumption, with the train of a Princess, and was now entering upon a proper age for marriage. Madame de Pompadour, for this purpose, thought of the Duke de Fronsac, son to Marshal Richelieu; she expected so much the less opposition in her project, as the father paid the most assiduous court to her, was loaded with the King's favours, and had always shewn the most abject submission to the inclinations, caprices, and fancies of his master.

He had lately in some measure contested in fertility to the Marchioness, with the Duke de la Valliere, on occasion of the little theatrical representations at her house. The latter of these Noblemen presided there, equally as a man of letters, a favourite of the King, and the very humble servant of his mistress. The Duke de Richelieu, in quality of First Gentleman of the Bedchamber, claimed that honour, which other people would have deemed unworthy of them, and obtained the preference. The Vignerots, indeed, were not of an extraction ancient enough, nor sufficiently acknowledged, to be very nice. The Marchioness was not ignorant of a speech that had been made to this Nobleman, upon his succeeding the Duke de Rochecouart, by a satirical Courtier: *I give you joy, Monsieur le Duc, you are at last become a Gentleman.* These words, under the appearance of complimenting him on his new promotion, were a bitter reflection upon his birth. The Duke de Richelieu, not being yet mean enough to be flattered by this proposal, but too much attached to Court-favours, to give them up by an absolute refusal, contrived a dexterous manner

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manner of eluding it: by answering, that he was much flattered with Madame de Pompadour's choice, and received it with gratitude; but that, his son having the honour to belong to the Princes of the House of Lorraine on his mother's side, he could not dispose of him without their consent, which he would earnestly solicit, if she persisted in her resolution. Madame de Pompadour was sensible of the finesse of this speech; she was afraid of the ridicule which would be cast upon her, if her pretensions were made public, and of the shame she should be exposed to by a refusal. She chose rather to dissemble, to temporize, and to negotiate. This was perfectly consistent with the Marshal's wishes, who hoped that time might procure him some method of relieving him from his embarrassment. He was fortunate enough to extricate himself by the surest way. Mademoiselle Alexandrine died soon after. Her mother was deeply afflicted, and the marriages of Mesdemoiselles de Baschy, and de Guitry, her relations, which were to have been celebrated with a great deal of *eclat* at Belle-vue, were suspended on this account, and concluded without any ceremony. An epitaph was made upon the young lady, beginning in this remarkable manner:

Here lies Jane Alexandrina, daughter to Messire Joseph le Normant, and Jane Poisson, Marchioness of Pompadour, Lady of Cressy, &c. &c.

Some months afterwards, the body of this precious child was transferred, with great pomp, from the Assumption convent to one of the chapels which belonged to Messrs. de Créqui, at the convent of the Capucines, which her mother had bought for the burial-

1754. burial-place of the family, and where she intended to erect a superb mausoleum to her daughter.

Another death, which happened a little while after this, and which ought, according to the feelings of nature, to have increased the grief of Madame de Pompadour, was, on the contrary, an alleviation to it, by freeing her from a most insupportable burthen. She lost M. Poisson, her father. This man, who had neither education, morals, decency, nor respect for any body, was a torment to her, and a perpetual source of humiliations. She did not dare to bring him nearer her person, because he was not fit to be presented any where, and that it was impossible to improve him; nor did she dare to send him from her, not only because she felt a reluctance to confine the author of her being, but also because he had a great deal of spirit: a meer letter *de cachet* would not have kept him within bounds; and, by making a greater eclat, she ran the risque of disclosing more publicly the meanness of her extraction. His daughter had therefore resolved to take no notice of the opprobrium he cast upon her, and to become insensible to his behaviour and his rudeness. She was afraid of refusing any favours to him, and caressed him as much as it was in her power. As soon as he appeared, he had free admission. One day, a new valet-de-chambre, who did not know him, not being much prejudiced in his favour, from his mean appearance, and his grotesque dress, making a difficulty to introduce him: *You rascal*, he bawled out to him, *don't you know I am father to the King's wh—e*. He treated his son with equal rudeness, whom he looked upon as a blackguard—a poor creature, of whom he used to say, *that he should have a great deal of trouble*

to make any thing of him. One day, being at table with a number of the Financiers, after a splendid dinner, his head being heated with wine, he burst out laughing like a mad man. "Do you know, Gentlemen," said he, afterwards, "what makes me laugh? It is at seeing us all here, with the pomp and magnificence that surrounds us. If a stranger were to come in, he would take us all for so many Princes. And you, M. de Montmartel, are the son of an ale-house-keeper;—you, M. de Savalette, son of a vinegar-merchant;—you, Bouret, son of a footman. As for myself, who does not know me?" By abusing himself in this manner, he thought he was intitled to say more disagreeable things to the rest of the guests; and when he had taken a review of them all, it was found not only that none of them were even of a mercantile family, but that several of them had made their fortunes by the most unlawful and infamous means.

Some Courtiers have pretended, that the circumstance which rendered the loss of her daughter still more bitter to the Marchioness of Pompadour, was the finding herself deprived of the hopes she had conceived, of her succeeding her in the King's affections. She knew that his Majesty was not startled at the idea of incest, and that it seemed rather an additional incitement to him. A disagreeable and disgusting infirmity, which she laboured under, having obliged her lover to separate from her, it would have been but a trifling shock to her ambition, if she could thus, in some measure, have survived herself at Court. Fortunately, this assistance was not necessary for her: she had acquired so complete an ascendancy over Lewis XV. that he still continued to be her slave.

1754. It is true, that her situation required not only a perpetual watchfulness, but also a despicable subjection. She was obliged to keep away continually from the King's *petits soupers* all the women of quality whom he seemed to admire too much: she caused them sometimes to be punished by banishment, for the crime of being too desirous of pleasing. Being become superintendant of the King's pleasures, she was obliged continually to recruit, from all parts of the kingdom, new and unknown beauties, calculated to renew the seraglio, which she governed at pleasure. Such was the origin of the *Parc-aux-Cerfs*, the gulph of innocence and ingenuousness, where multitudes of victims were swallowed up; who, restored afterwards to society, brought into it corruption, a taste for debauchery, and all the vices with which they necessarily became infected, in their intercourse with the infamous agents of such a place.

1753.

Independent of the injury which this abominable institution did to manners, it is dreadful to calculate the immense sums which it cost the State. In fact, who could sum up the expences of that series of agents of all kinds, both principal and subordinate, exerting themselves to discover the objects of their researches—to go and fetch them from the extremities of the kingdom—to bring them to the place of their destination—to get them cleaned—to dress—to perfume them—and, in a word, to supply them with all the means of seduction that art could imagine. Add to this, the sums given to those, who, not having the happiness to rouse the languid sensations of the Sultan, were not the less to be indemnified for their services, for their discretion, and especially for his contempt;—the reward due to those more fortunate

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nate nymphs, who gratified the temporary desires of the Monarch;—in a word, the sacred engagements entered into with other Sultanas, who shewed signs of fertility;—and we may judge that there was not any, one with another, who has not been a charge of a million*, at least, to the public treasury. Let us only reckon that two in a week passed through this sink of infamy, that is to say, a thousand in ten years, and we shall have a capital of a thousand millions †. We do not comprehend in this sum total the support of the children proceeding from this clandestine intercourse; neither were all these expences, in any particular, deducted from those of the favourite. We may therefore consider the *Parc-au-Cerf* as one of the principal sources of the waste of the finances. Thus it is that the sums, called *acquits du comptant* ‡, began to be more exorbitant from year to year; so much, that the Parliament of Paris, in their remonstrances, reproached the King, that these *acquits*, which, under Lewis XIV. had never exceeded ten millions §, were at that time above a hundred millions ¶.

The Marchioness—for so she was called by preference at Court—not being able any more to intoxicate her lover by her charms, was obliged to increase

* Between forty-one and forty-two thousand pounds.

† Upwards of forty-one millions sterling.

‡ By *acquits du comptant*, we are to understand, sums delivered into the royal treasury, upon the bare signature of the King, without any mention being made of the object of their destination. The keeper of the public treasury has no need of any other voucher to the chamber of accounts, to have these expences allowed him.

§ Upwards of four hundred thousand pounds.

¶ Upwards of four millions sterling.

1754. her assiduity to captivate his mind, to subdue him, and to make herself so useful, that he could not be without her. Adulation, which so infallibly prevails with all mankind, was one of the principal means she used for this purpose. This adulation did not only consist in the art employed by the most stupid Courtier, of putting the Monarch in good-humour with himself—of praising him upon his moral and philosophical qualities—his actions—his arrangements—his conversations; nor even in the more refined way of studying what would gratify him; but in the assiduous and painful attention to remove from Lewis XV. the cares, the solitudes, and the anxieties of government—to make him enjoy, upon the throne, that idle and retired life, which was the object of his wishes. What a tormenting life was this; and how dearly did she buy her apparent grandeur! But ambitious people have enjoyments, the sweets of which are unknown to the philosopher. Such was that experienced by Madame de Pompadour, on receiving a letter from the Dutchess of Chatillon, who begged of her to make the King acquainted with the regret her husband felt, at having been so unhappy as to displease his Majesty, and of dying in disgrace. To see at her feet the governor of the heir apparent to the throne, depending more upon her credit, than upon that of his august pupil, was a delightful triumph, which she obtained, not only over this creature of the Dauphin, but even over the Dauphin himself; who, though he detested her, paid an indirect homage to her influence and benevolence, by this tacit acknowledgment; for it is to be presumed, that this step had not been taken without communicating it to the Prince, whose constant attachment to the

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the Duke was well known. She answered, in the King's name, that his Majesty was much affected at the dismal situation of the sick man—that he was persuaded the Duke had not intentionally offended him—that he restored him to favour, and hoped the Duke would soon be able to come to Court, where his Majesty would be very glad to see him again.

When so austere a Courtier as the Duke de Châtillon has recourse to so humiliating a protection, it may readily be imagined, that he has no other resource. He died a few days after having received this answer; but his family reaped the benefit of it, by several favours.

These transitory comforts unfortunately happened very seldom, and could not compensate for the trouble she had with the King—oppressed with business both foreign and domestic—inwardly embarrassed with the important duty of attending to the remonstrances of the States of the kingdom, and to those of the Protestors—tired with the fastidious quarrels, for ever renewed, between the clergy of his realm, and between the ecclesiastical and civil jurisdictions—and deceived at the same time by insidious negotiations;—forced to astonish his enemies, by his preparations for war, in the sudden re-establishment of his navy—to surprize all Europe by the unexpected resources of his politics—and, in the beginning of the war, to prepare and procure brilliant success to his arms, in all parts of the world:—while, at last, depressed by a continual reverse of fortune, he was compelled to accept a most fatal and shameful peace.

In this rapid sketch of the reign of Lewis XV. it is impossible to give a detail of the troubles which

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agitated the States of Britany in 1752, whose meetings had been the longest and most turbulent that had ever been known. The readers, who are desirous of seeing this curious, minute, but interesting history, will find it in a manuscript journal, taken from original writings *. We shall only observe, at present, that the continuation of the tax, called the *Vingtieme*, notwithstanding the peace, was the chief cause of the ferment that has been kept up since that period; a ferment, sometimes quieted, but afterward re-excited with redoubled fury, and being the source of all the misfortunes of that province. The three orders of the State made the loudest expostulations, that they might at least be allowed to compound, but without success. The Court soon intimidated the Clergy, and the lower order of the State, under a pretence that it did not become them to resist the King's will, which was clearly manifested; or rather, they bribed these two bodies of men, who, from their nature, and the smallness of their number, are always more open to seduction. But the Nobility, too numerous, too haughty, and too much attached to that freedom of voting, which they consider as their most precious and dearest privilege, displayed more firmness, in proportion to the defection of the two inferior orders of the State. The Duke de Chaulnes, who presided over the States, foreseeing the injury which so scandalous a conduct would do him at Versailles, and being personally piqued, caused some of the members, whom he described as the promoters of the dissension and resistance, to be punished. Nine Gentle-

* See the Appendix at the end of the volume, N° I.

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men were banished, and even the wife of one of them (Madame de Pyr ), and five were confined. To make afterwards some amends to Britany, the Intendant and the Commandant were recalled. M. le Bret, Solicitor-General at the Parliament of Paris, succeeded to M. de Viarmes, and the Duke d'Aiguillon to the Duke of Chaulnes. It undoubtedly occasioned some surprize, to see that Nobleman, who was nephew to the Countess of Maurepas, arrive; but his ambition had made him supple. Besides, he was more nearly connected with the Duke de Richelieu by his name. He from that time entered into a brilliant but perilous career. We shall only at present speak of his entrance into employment, which was fortunate. Madame de Pompadour being very desirous of persuading the King, who was intimidated at the most trifling tumult, that the province of Britany was perfectly quiet, to give him authentic proofs of it, the new Commandant caused the first States, over which he presided, to perform the ceremony of the dedication of a magnificent monument of bronze, which had been decreed to the King in 1744, in memory of his convalescence, and of his victories. It consists of three pedestrian figures, executed by M. Le Morne, a famous sculptor. The first represents the King, upon a pedestal, in a Roman habit, with a truncheon in his hand; the second, the Goddess of Health, sacrificing at her altar; and the third, the Province of Britany, kneeling, and shewing to the people the object of their joy.

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His Majesty was so much delighted, that he commissioned the Bishop of Rennes to express his satisfaction,

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faction in his name to the States ; and accordingly he granted them the nomination to the two first Abbeyes that should become vacant, two companies of cavalry, and letters of *Noblesse* for two persons whom they might choose. The three orders thus partook of his favours. The Commandant acquired a great deal of credit ; but he had less pacified matters, than prevented any violent steps. This was a material point. It began to be the system of the Court to have no settled plan, to foresee nothing at a distance, to enjoy the present moment, and to gain time. It had been obtained, that the *Vingtieme* should continue to be levied as before, upon the faith only of a registry. This was all that M. de Sechelles, Comptroller General, who had adopted the principles of his predecessor, wished at that time ; he was desirous of knowing the real produce of the tax, before he admitted of a composition. While he avoided the redress of the abuses which the States complained of, by not rectifying the infringement of their privileges, he felt little anxiety at leaving the seeds of discord subsisting, which were to break out with so much more violence, in proportion as they were longer concealed.

Marshal Richelieu, who presided over the States of Languedoc, the privileges of which were already much infringed, had rendered a material service to the Ministry ; and by causing a decree of Council to be registered by the States in 1752, which confirmed them with emphasis, had contrived to annul them entirely ; so that they retained no more than the shadow of authority ; and it may readily be imagined, that they have not since acquired any energy, which, far from increasing, is usually weakened by time.

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time. Thus by the incroachments of authority, ever active to usurp, the tax called the *Vingtieme* was now levied in that province without any difficulty; and even in the voluntary contribution, the words, *accordé sans consequence* *, so sacred to the privileges of the province, were no longer in use.

In 1754 the Commandant was fortunate enough to conclude the affairs of the Protestants of the Cevennes, which might have been attended with dangerous consequences. Notwithstanding the favourable accounts given by the Marquis de Paulmy, of these Religionists, it was in agitation to renew the Dragognades *. These unfortunate people, who were neither allowed to emigrate, nor to follow their religion in France, were censured for complaining that they were deprived of the rights of citizens, and that they could not lawfully become either husbands or fathers. Fortunately, the Bishop of Montpellier, a zealous Molinist, but who was endowed with all the mildness of the evangetic character, facilitated as much as possible the arrangements of the Court, where some of the Ministers began to entertain more sound and more philosophical notions upon this matter.

Notwithstanding the violent counsels of the Bishops of Alais and Uses, who differed in opinion from their brother Prelate, the legality of the marriage of the Protestants was restored: it was agreed, that no notice should be taken of their assemblies, and that the Clergy should witness their marriages, as civil contracts. The troops that had marched, commit-

* Granted without establishing a precedent.

† Bodies of Dragoons sent to molest the Protestant Councils, and compel them to sign recantations.

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ted no acts of hostility, and every thing was settled by negotiations.

This agreement displeased the Clergy, who are not fond of admitting a salvo; but they were at that time too much occupied by the Jansenists; they were enraged at the return of Parliament, and humiliated at it's triumph. The face of things was entirely altered: the King appeared to be for some time resolved to maintain his declaration of the 2d of September, extolled by the party as a monument of his wisdom: they struck several medals in honour of this Monarch, who, though he was at that time guilty of a double adultery, was, nevertheless, represented as the pacifier of the kingdom, the protector of the church, the avenger of the holy canons, and of the laws. The Duke de Berry, now upon the

23 Aug.

throne, was born at this period; and, by a remarkable singularity, there were no witnesses to his birth, except the Chancellor, the Keeper of the Seals, the Comptroller General, and M. de Puyfieux. No Prince had attended at it, the Court being at Choisy, and the Courier dispatched to the King having broken his neck, in making too much haste. However, this august embryo was made to figure in the engravings, and was delineated as the token of peace. The Archbishop of Paris lost nothing of his firmness by the rejoicings of his enemies. He became again the first victim, and his Majesty, being informed by the Parliament that the sacrament had been refused by the order of that Prelate, banished him at last to Conflans. Soon after the Bishop of Troyes, was banished, for the same reason, to Mery sur Seine, and the Archbishop of Aix to Lambesc. The Princes of the church

2 Dec.

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church were still spared; these punishments inflicted by his Majesty, were the means of protecting them from the more rigorous pursuits of the magistrates: as to the inferior Clergy, they were given up to the secular power. The Rector of *Sainte Marguerite*, as well as some priests of *Saint Etienne du Mont*, were taken up, and condemned to perpetual banishment. If the course of justice could have been continued in the same manner, the refusal of the sacraments would soon have decreased. But, as the Parliaments grew bolder, the Court did not fail to relax, and to shew their usual inconsistency, under apprehension of being no longer able to restore the system of equilibrium they had planned.

A decree of the Parliament of Paris had condemned the deliberations of the Chapter of Orleans, on account of the sacrament having been refused to M. Cognion, one of the Canons, and had admitted the Attorney General in appeal, as from an abuse of authority in the execution of the Bull *Unigenitus*; namely, *because no ecclesiastics pretended to attribute to it the character, or to give it the power of a rule of faith.* A decree of Council expunged these erroneous words, inasmuch as the said Bull was decided to be, *a rule of the Church and State, in consequence of several declarations from the King.* This avowal renewed the confidence of the Clergy. Their opposition and their demands were redoubled. The Sorbonne was so daring as to refuse to register a decree of the Court, which enjoined that body, and the Syndic, to be more attentive in preventing the holding any theses contrary to the laws, and the maxims of the kingdom, and to the silence lately ordained. They were obliged to summon the Dean, the Syndic, the Grand Master, and

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and the Professors of the Sorbonne and Navarre, and, after a reprimand given to them by the First President, in the name of the Parliament, to cause it to be recorded in their presence, by the *Register*, and to forbid their assembling any more till further orders. Thus, by another inconsistency, the Magistrates—who had so often complained of the constraint they were laid under, by taking from them the liberty of deliberating and voting—who had so often declared all registers illegal, that were extorted by force and violence—who had considered as oppressive, and destructive of the laws, the being forbidden to remonstrate, to deliberate, and to assemble—chose to tie down, by that stroke of authority, a body, who declared that they were only subjected, with regard to these matters, to their superiors in the hierarchy, and that they had a right to condemn even the Parliaments, and to judge the laws in points of faith and doctrine. The Body of Divinity pursued the same steps as the Courts of Justice, and pretended, that in the state of subversion, discouragement, and trouble they were in, they could not continue their functions. They appealed to the King, and presented a petition, praying that the decree of the Parliament might be annulled. The Ministry, without protesting too openly the Divines, supported them however, and, suffering the Magistrates to exert their despotism only to a certain degree, prevented matters from being carried to extremities. The Doctors remained in a passive state of anxiety and uncertainty, till their tyrant was again attacked.

28 May. In the intermediate time was opened the Assembly of the Clergy, which lasted five months, and concluded nothing. The Cardinal de la Rochefoucault presided

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presided there, and it was the second time that he filled that station. Although the spirit of the Society had prevailed in him, when it was intended to lay restrictions on his order, it was hoped that he would be more tractable in matters of religion. Accordingly, his quiet and pacific disposition restrained the factions in those tumultuous assemblies, in which our Pastors sometimes gave themselves up to the most petulant and indecent sallies, and even to clamours of so gross a nature, that it was reported in the most distant provinces, they had proceeded to blows*.

A happier incident soon furnished the President with the means of forming a party, to oppose the blind and turbulent zeal of the fanatics. The late Bishop of Mirepoix, the *Theatin Boyer*, was just dead; this man, so confined in his abilities—who had succeeded Bossuet and Fenelon—who had held the patronage of the church after Cardinal Fleuri—and who had frustrated the good intentions of the King, when he proposed rendering the order of St. Louis capable of church preferment—had only been raised on account of his attachment to the principles of his predecessors: he had carried them still further, by adopting the practice of certificates of confession; he had employed the distribution of favours, a sure and infallible expedient to fill the church with *Constituents*, and to favour schism. The Court thought of deriving some good from the source of the mischief. They made Cardinal Rochefoucault succeed to that important part of Administration vacant by the death of the late Prelate. This was a bait with which several persons aspiring to livings, who had

* See a famous publication, intitled, *Examen du procès de ce qui s'est passé à l'Assemblée du Clergé.*

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The result was, to write a circular letter to all the Archbishops and Bishops throughout the kingdom, in which the Assembly shewed, the difference of the two opinions with regard to the degree of respect due to the Bull *Unigenitus*—to the notoriety of the right, and of the fact—and to the competency with regard to sacramental matters. The copy of another letter was also joined to this, which was addressed to the Pope, in order to receive his paternal instructions upon these points, and to secure a perfect unanimity.

The Pontiff consulted was Benedict XIV. who had too much learning to be very credulous, and whose disposition was chearful, and even droll. He did not attach so much importance to these quarrels as the fanatics could have wished; and, although his dignity obliged him to keep up appearances, he could not avoid laughing at them with his intimates: he thought it singular, that a King of France should not be powerful enough to pacify his kingdom, and

† From the *feuille*, or list of benefices.

said,

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said, speaking of the troubles with which it was agitated, and of it's anarchy, *buona macchina che anda sola* *. He made an ambiguous answer, and paid his court to Lewis XV. in seeming to trust entirely to his piety and zeal for religion, and in exhorting him to give out a declaration to confirm his brief. Thus he availed himself of the Monarch's foible, by flattering him, and by shewing a spirit of peace and concord. The fearful and superstitious disposition of Lewis XV. rendered him already naturally favourable to priests; who being satisfied with his submission to the tenets of religion, did not torment him on account of his passions; and who even suggested to him, that Heaven forgave a great many weaknesses, to Princes attached to the interests of the church, and defenders of the faith. Besides, several Prelates, since the death of the ancient Bishop of Mirepoix, were beginning to draw nearer to the Court, and to the favourite, and to pay an attention to her. She did not yet dispose of the benefices, nor sell them openly, as she has since done; but the Cardinal de Rochefoucault was too great a politician, not to pay a regard to her recommendations, which the *Theatin Boyer*, conscientiously credulous and scrupulous, because he was simple and ignorant, would never have done; and who, moreover, would have been forced to this reserve, in order not to displease the Dauphin, his pupil, if even he had not been so, by the austerity of his principles. It was with regret that Lewis XV. had suffered the Parliament to act against the Clergy, that his Majesty had himself condemned some of the Prelates, and had very recently caused

* It is a good machine that goes by itself.

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6 June.

the Bishop of Troyes to be taken up with eclat, and conducted into a more rigorous exile at the farther end of Alsace, to the Abbey of Mourbach, in order to keep others in awe by this example of severity. The more his Majesty gave way to the Magistrates, the more did they extend their inquiries and their watchfulness. He saw that there was no composition to be expected with these persons, who were as inflexible as the law. Their obstinacy displeased him. In 1755, the Parliament of Paris had requested to have no vacations, that they might settle the business in arrears; and, having obtained letters patent for this purpose, had employed themselves more in promoting their own authority, than in judging the causes of individuals. Although they had lost the chief prop of the Jansenist party, in the person of that famous Attorney General, Ioly de Fleuri, a man of vast erudition, of skilful and seducing eloquence, and who had been their support for the space of forty years; although his son, who succeeded him, had neither his understanding, his finesse, nor his activity, the Company was still filled with old members, attached to their prejudices, who could not grant any truce to the *Molinists*, and wished to make the *Appellants* triumphant. They had just caused a pastoral instruction of the Bishop of Troyes, on schism, to be torn and burnt by the hands of the common hangman. The Prelate had been so highly incensed, as to publish a mandate, by which he condemned the decree of Parliament, forbad it's being read, or kept by any person, under pain of excommunication. This had obliged the King to express his discontent, and even his indignation against him.

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To punish the Sorbonne for it's resistance, the Magistrates, not less fanatic in their way, renewed a contest which had lain dormant since 1729. The point in question was, a decree by which the Sorbonne had recalled it's appeal, had accepted the *Constitution*, and had established a formulary that was to be signed by all the candidates. It was pretended, that this decree of the Body of Divinity, was contrary to the observation of silence enjoined to them; and after six-and-twenty years it was declared void, and of no effect. But the Court found still more opposite to their views of pacification, a piece of chicanery, which tended to raise the party of the *Appellants*, that was almost crushed; and to renew and increase the divisions among the Clergy: a decree of Council was accordingly issued, which annulled the decree of the Parliament.

The appointment of a Superior to a convent of Nuns, having excited a fresh contest between the Parliament and the Archbishop of Paris, the latter, —who had been banished a second time, but by the King's goodness suffered to return from the Abbey de Pagny to his delicious villa—had not imagined that the clemency of the Sovereign ought to abate his zeal. Ashamed of the example given to him by the Bishop of Troyes, he had got into the pulpit at Conflans, and had read a mandate or pastoral instruction, in which he excommunicated all the non-acceptants of the *Constitution Unigenitus*—the confessors who did not enforce it's reception at the tribunal of confession—those who either had or should procure the decrees and resolutions of Parliament pointed out, and namely the Nuns taking care of the sick in the suburb *Saint Marcel*, as like-

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wife all the Priests who should say mass in their church. This excommunication was not simply verbal, and threatening; it was fulminated with all the formalities, the lights put out, and the bells tolling. The modern Athanasius, in his discourse, extolled his brother Prelate as a persecuted Confessor, to whose sentiments he adhered, whose firmness and constancy he admired, and was desirous of imitating. Several Bishops adhered, in their turns, to this vigorous step, and their number increased every day.

The King—more embarrassed than ever, at seeing the flame of the schism, far from being extinguished, increasing its ravages—held several councils to consult upon the measures necessary to put an effectual stop to it. The enemies of the Parliament took advantage of this to lay some fresh troubles to their charge, accusing them of not acting with that spirit of conciliation and mildness which his Majesty had so often recommended to them—of being guided in their conduct more by passion than real zeal—and of their having recently suppressed the Pope's brief, the wisdom of which was so much admired by his Majesty. They shewed the necessity of restraining the extension the Parliament gave to the authority his Majesty had intrusted them with, especially at a time, when it was more than ever expedient, to find that Court tractable to so essential a point as the registering of the accumulated taxes which the present war required.

The dispute begun between that Court and the *Grand-Council*, was another subject of complaint that was made use of against them. We cannot avoid making a digression here, concerning this dis-

pute,

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pute, the fatal beginning of a revolution projected long before, and which hath at length been effected in the constitution of the French monarchy.

The enemies of the *Parliament*, finding that they had in vain attempted to crush them, and that this great body had acquired more strength from the attacks carried on against them; became sensible, that their greatest fault had been, the not having a body in readiness to succeed the *Parliament* immediately, instead of the phantom of a tribunal collected with precipitation from the members of the Council. They took a review of the several Courts, and found that the Chamber of Accounts, which was composed of members who were not lawyers—of *ignorant and unlettered persons*; as the King styles them in their appointments—could never deserve the confidence of the nation, and would only serve to throw a greater ridicule upon their project. The Court of Aids would have been better adapted to their purpose, as being more agreeable to the people; but they had then at their head M. de Malesherbes, an incorruptible Magistrate, a patriot, and a man incapable of submitting to any meanness from views of aggrandizement. Besides, this Court was becoming troublesome to Government; and at this very period, forestalling the zeal of the *Parliament*, had made such vigorous remonstrances relative to the taxes that were registered at the Bed of Justice holden at Versailles, and respecting the uncertainty of their duration*, that they

* We propose to publish in the Appendix these remonstrances, hitherto unknown, and of the greatest importance. They are to be found in a quarto volume, intitled, *Memoirs to illustrate the history of the public rights of France, in matters of taxes*: a work which has just appeared, in 1779.

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had obliged the Monarch to promise, that the time of their cessation should be fixed to the day of the cessation of hostilities, instead of that of the proclamation of peace. The *Grand-Council* was judged to be the only body proper for their design. This tribunal, which was an extra-tribunal in the State—which could not subsist if the laws were observed, having neither power nor place of jurisdiction, and existing only by challenges and appeals, that is to say, in pre-eminence to the Parliaments—if it were not acknowledged by all the inferior Courts of Justice, had at least some of them, such as the *Presidial Courts*, dependent upon it; and pretending, in concurrence with its immediate superiors, to exercise the same right over the other tribunals, acquired a new extension of power. By a declaration made at the time of a private contest between that Court and the Parliament of Paris, his Majesty acknowledged, that all the inferior Courts, Bailiwicks, and Seneschalsies of the kingdom, were obliged to execute the decrees, ordinances, and mandates of the *Grand-Council*, immediately, and without any appeal to the other Courts and Judges, or any permission asked of them.

The Parliament were aware of the intention, in exciting this source of discord between them and the rival tribunal. They made vigorous resolutions; they remonstrated; they appealed against the incroachments of the members of the *Grand-Council*; they described them as tending, by a regular system, to the annihilation of the ancient and unalterable forms of the legislation—to overthrow the sacred order upon which the constitution, even of the State, had rested for these thirteen centuries—to de-
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grade the hierarchy of the sovereign jurisdiction of the King—and, in a word to erect a Parliament superior to all the other Parliaments. The *Grand-Council*, supported by the Court, continued it's acts of usurpation—in inflaming the other jurisdictions—in confusing and subverting the essential policy of the kingdom—and in it's attempts against the fundamental laws of the Monarchy, and the Majesty of the Court of Peers. It was resolved, that the Princes and Peers should be invited to come and take their seats in that Court, to consult upon the measures it might be necessary to take. The Magistrates were in hopes of acquiring greater strength by these means, and of adding weight to their proceedings; but the Princes and Peers were a second time forbidden to appear at the *Palais*, and the Magistrates were obliged to sustain the contest by themselves. From that time, there was an indecent war carried on between the two Courts, by reciprocal decrees, without any attempts from the Ministry to put a stop to it: on the contrary, they laughed at it, and fomented this quarrel, in hopes of deriving some advantage from it. If circumstances made the project fail at that time, they did not give it up; and we shall see hereafter, that a person appeared, more audacious, or more dextrous, who realized it. In the mean time, the enemies of the Magistracy had prevailed: the King was again incensed with them. He not only gave no answer to the Parliament of Paris, but treated the Parliament of Rouen, and that of Bourdeaux, with rigour. At length, after the meeting of a great number of Councils, in the course of the year, upon the sub-

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1756. jeſt of the inteſtine troubles of religion, and to put a ſtop to the diſputes between the eccleſiaſtical and civil jurisdictions, it was decided, that a Bed of Juſtice ſhould be holden, in which his Maſteſty would enact new laws.

The firſt of theſe was a declaration, by which his Maſteſty renewed his orders reſpecting the ſilence preſcribed with regard to the Bull, and gave aſſurances, at the ſame time, that it was not his intention to deprive the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of the right of teaching, ordered, that the reſpect and ſubmiſſion that had been preſcribed by Lewis XIV. and by himſelf, ſhould be continued to the *Conſtitution Unigenitus*; nevertheless, without attributing to it the denomination, character, or effects, of a rule of faith; although the Prelates unaniſmouſly decided, that it was a dogmatic and unalterable ſentence of the univerſal church in point of doctrine †. This declaration was no leſs undeterminate and contradictory, upon the mode of proceeding in caſe of the reſuſal of ſacraments. Recourſe was firſt to be had to the Judges of the Church, from whom one could not apply to the ſecular tribunals, but by appeal for abuſe of authority: this was rendering the firſt both party and judge, beſides that it made ſick people run the riſque of dying long before the ſacraments could be adminiſtered to them; inas-much as the Magiſtrates, while they condemned the refractory eccleſiaſtics, could not compel them to confer the ſacraments. In a word, the pretended

† In the aſſembly of the Clergy of 1755, the Biſhops agreed in this expreſſion.

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remedy to the schism, was nothing more than a palliative, capable of increasing the trouble, confusion, and disorder, that prevailed.

The second law was subtle enough, if it could have subsisted. It is a well known fact, that the more numerous companies are, the less open are they to corruption. The system of Government, for some time past, had been to reduce the numbers of the Parliament, by not filling up the places which became vacant. They had complained and remonstrated upon this subject, to little purpose, and the edict in question suppressed, on the contrary, two Courts of Inquests. These Courts had been pitched upon, because they were composed of young men—who generally propose and support the most violent counsels—who are besides susceptible of an enthusiasm scarcely known in persons of a more advanced age—in a word, whose new and unfulfilled minds are not open to the feelings of fear or hope, two such powerful passions, when despotism knows how to put them in motion. Besides, as the Chiefs have a great deal of influence over the other Members, the Presidents of the remaining Courts, were to have no more particular appointment, but were to be taken from among the Presidents *à mortier*, capable of being chosen or removed at the pleasure of the Court.

The last law was a declaration which contained regulations for the discipline of the Parliament; that is to say, a combination of troublesome forms and conditions, in order to render the assemblies of the *Chambres* less frequent—to retard the accusations—and to give more influence, weight, and authority in the Company to the First President, a creature of

1756. the Court, and whom they commonly direct as they please.

A Bed of Justice was settled for the 13th of December, wherein his Majesty caused his edicts and declarations to be published, and registered in his presence. That very evening the Gentlemen of the Court of Inquests, considering themselves as degraded, and deprived of their most essential functions, carried their resignation to the Chancellor. The *Grand Chamber* did not follow their example, except a few members, among whom was M. Tubeuf, an antient military man; who, seeing the pusillanimity of the majority of the members, at the time of the deliberations upon the subject, cried out, in the energetic stile of his former profession: "I knew very well there were some *poltroons* among us, but I did not think there were so many." The public adopted this Christian name for the Gentlemen that staid, and called them the *God-children of M. Tubeuf*. The Clergy thus triumphed for the second time. That it might not, however, appear that too many concessions were made to them, the Prelates then at Paris were enjoined to repair to their dioceses, there to wait the King's orders. This new persecution against the Magistracy lasted a year longer. It seemed to cease in the month of September 1757; but the series of their disgraces soon began again; and if they had the satisfaction, in that interval, of seeing the extinguishing of the schism, of effecting the destruction of the Jesuits, their most cruel enemies; these had, however, power enough to involve the Parliament in one common ruin with themselves.

But, before this great blow was given to the kingdom, it was soon to experience the calamities of a war,

war, the least misfortune of which was to drain it of men and money, and to deprive it of its most fertile possessions in the new world. Can any Frenchman recollect without blushing, the opprobrium, which was then fixed upon his country? We may hereafter, perhaps, give a more enlarged history of this period. At present, we shall only, according to our plan, point out the principal circumstances, retrace the few glorious events, the numerous misfortunes, and especially the capital faults, committed in the course of it; the account of which is always more useful than that of prosperities, only proper to flatter the vanity of a nation, to make it become torpid, and consequently, by suspending the continuation of these prosperities, to pave the way for misfortunes and disasters.

By the articles of the treaty of Aix la Chapelle which remained undetermined—and were the most nice, the most difficult, and the most important in their consequences—it was easy to judge that France and England had only wished for a breathing-time; that they had made a truce, and not a durable peace. Spain seemed to act with more sincerity. The principal disputes of that Crown, with England, were adjusted by the convention of Buen-retiro. The Court of England, in this treaty, gave up from that time their pretensions to the *Assiento* or Negro trade, and to the ship they were allowed to send to Porto Bello, though this permission was granted for four years by the treaty; and this was done in consideration of a hundred thousand pounds sterling to be paid by his Catholic Majesty, and of some privileges granted to the English in their trade. Unfortunately, sufficient care had not been taken to regulate what concerned the vexations of the Spanish *guarda-costas* in the West

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West Indies—the pursuit and confiscation of the English vessels in those latitudes—and the cutting of logwood in the bay of Honduras ; that wood, which is so valuable for the purposes of dying, but so fatal by the incessant quarrels it has occasioned, and which still subsist. This point was however discussed, after the disgrace of the Marquis of Encenada, and amicably adjusted under M. Wall, his successor ; but this arrangement did not last long, and the Court of Madrid revived all the strictness of their pretensions concerning this wood, at the time they wished to form a union with France ; this exasperated Mr. Pitt so much against the Spanish Minister, that he accused him of being *Frenchified*.

The English also complained of the preference given by Spain to the French trade, contrary to the express letter of the last treaty ; they complained of the activity with which that Power increased it's navy, and of the great influence the Ministry of Versailles had over that of Madrid. But these complaints occasioned no act of hostility, and upon being transmitted, were answered. Matters did not go on so amicably between the Courts of London and Versailles. Their respective grievances were only increased by negotiations ; and hostilities having begun, or rather not having ceased during the peace, the people of the two countries had not even the temporary enjoyment of that happiness, in the interval between the two wars of 1744 and 1756. Scarce were Cape Breton and Louisbourg evacuated by the English, and given up to the King's troops ; scarce had his Majesty declared to the Lords Suffex and Cathcart, sent as hostages till the restitution of those places, that they were free, than the chicaneries in Europe,

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and the quarrels beyond sea, again exerted the sagacity of the politicians of the Old World, and fomented discord in the New. Notwithstanding the pacific intentions of the two Sovereigns, and even of their Ministers, there was a great probability of it's being very difficult, that objects of discord of so long standing, so distant, so much increased, and diffused over almost all their possessions, should be settled in an amicable manner, and with sufficient dispatch, to prevent other causes of division that might arise.

India was the principal spot on which the rivalry between the French and English continued to exert itself without ceasing, except precisely at the moment in which this rivalry broke out with greater extent and fury, in the other parts of the world. Dupleix was Director-General of the affairs of the French India Company at Pondicherry; he had at last contrived to remove the man, of whose talents and genius he was the most in awe, that la Bourdonnais, who, by his exploits, had first inspired the neighbouring nations with the greatest respect for his own country. He had obliged him to return into Europe; and in this instance, animosity losing nothing of it's activity by absence, Dupleix had had the influence, at the distance of six thousand leagues, to cause the conqueror of Madras to be sent to the Bastille, and to be kept there during three years and a half, in the hardest captivity. He was perpetually sending from India fresh witnesses against him, and at length, not having been able to prevent the innocence of that illustrious prisoner from appearing, he at least deprived him of the rewards which he deserved; Bourdonnais expiring, had nothing left but his glory.

In

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In order to repair the injury that Dupleix was doing to the Company, by depriving it of such a defender, he certainly must have felt powerful resources within himself, and in the persons whom he intended to employ. Accordingly, he displayed them at the siege of Pondicherry, where he was at once, Commandant, Engineer, Officer of Artillery, and Commissary. This was the occasion of an honour being granted to him, which no one except an Officer in the King's service had hitherto obtained—the *Grand Cordon de St. Louis*. It is a matter of doubt, whether this distinction, together with the rank of Marquis, to which, by his birth, he had no pretensions, inspired him with new ideas, and made him alter his system: but this Chief of the Merchants, who, in 1742, had proposed a neutrality to the English Company during the war, attempted at the peace to set himself up as a protector of the Vice-Roys of India, and, interfering in the quarrels of those Princes, erected himself into their conqueror, and their tyrant. He made his employers become usurpers, against their will, and consumed in warlike preparations all the funds intended for commerce. He flattered himself, that he should recover them with interest from the treasures of the vanquished people. This thirst of conquest excited the jealousy of the English, who, in their turn, assisted the oppressed. Saunders was at their head, as bold, as inflexible, and as fertile in expedients, as his rival. Both of them making sport of the Nabobs, whose names served for a watch-word to their troops, only fought, in reality, to satisfy their ambition and cupidity, the several passions with which they were devoured. The Governor of Pondicherry, elated with his successes, had
carried

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carried his delirium so far, as to be desirous of making himself Sovereign. He had purchased from the Chancery of the Grand Mogul, the Patent of Nabob of the Carnatic. Then it was that he displayed that Asiatic pomp, for which he had a natural turn. His wife made herself be treated like a Queen; and this visionary grandeur might have lasted a long time, if her husband had not, in his turn, fallen a victim to that same jealousy, which he had himself given way to against la Bourdonnais, and which was the source of his greatness, and of his ruin. Advantage was taken of a considerable check, which his imprudent haughtiness had drawn upon him, and he was recalled. He was reduced at Paris to dispute about the poor remains of his fortune, which were contested with him by the Direction, and to solicit audiences in the antichamber of his judges. He soon died of grief, and Madame Dupleix had a great deal of trouble to obtain a trifling pension, from those who had acquired by his victories and negotiations thirty-nine millions * of annual income. The territories added to this Company were valued at that sum. This was the most brilliant period of their prosperity, if they could have supported the character in which their representative had begun to make them appear. But the weakness of Ministry was alarmed at it; they gave orders to refuse the Carnatic, the most flourishing province of the Mogul empire, where Pondicherry is situated, which would have made the acquisition complete. They did not chuse that the Company should be any thing more than it had been till that time, an association of merchants; nor that

* One million six hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds.

1756. they should have any other possessions than factories. Thus it is that this edifice of grandeur, which had partaken too much of the romantic imagination of its founder, disappeared as rapidly as it had been raised. Government wished particularly to avoid hurting the pride of the English; they had given orders, in conformity to those sent by his Britannic Majesty, to suspend hostilities. The two Companies accordingly communicated with each other, and made a conditional treaty, the first point of which was this suspension. The truce was to take place in the beginning of 1755. The other arrangements tended to establish between them an equality of territory, of forces, and of commerce, on the coast of Coromandel, and that of Orixá. It was M. de Godeheu, a man as modest and plain as his predecessor was haughty and superb, who planned and signed this truce, in quality of Commissary of his most Christian Majesty, of Commandant General of all the establishments of the French India Company, from the Cape of Good Hope to China; of President of all the Councils established there; and of Director General of the French India Company. He was not elated with all these titles; but conducted himself like an *honest merchant*, as Voltaire says, and, by the good faith which he shewed in the conferences, conciliated the English so much to himself*, that the intelligence between the two nations might, perhaps, have been durable, if the rupture in Europe had not spread itself as far as India, and especially if M. de Godeheu had remained there. Dupleix and he had furnished

* See *History of the last war*, composed in English, in four large volumes; a work as long as it is tedious, full of faults and partiality, and consequently may be depended upon, when it speaks advantageously of the French.

incontestible

incontestible proofs, that in these distant regions, it is not so much the Sovereigns, as their agents, who regulate war or peace. 1756.

From this account, it is difficult not to believe that the French were not the aggressors in the East-Indies. The English complained of them equally on the coast of Africa. It is well known of what importance commerce is in that part of the world, with regard to the sugar-colonies, the working of which can only be done by Negroes. It is well known by what an abominable custom the Europeans go to purchase those unfortunate victims in their own countries, and degrade and insult humanity so far as to transform their fellow-creatures into so many beasts of burthen, whom they drive in the same manner, with whips in their hands, leaving them no other alternative than slowly to consume their existence in the midst of hard, obstinate, and continual labours, without salary or reward, or to perish in horrid tortures. Such treatment requires that these herds of slaves should be perpetually recruited. Hence arises the rivalry between the two nations in a country where the Negro trade is carried on. To complete the misery of this country, it produces also gold, a metal equally fatal to it's proprietors and it's conquerors, but which renders people cruel, in proportion to the cupidity it excites. Since the French had been obliged to sacrifice Senegal to their rivals, they had nothing left but the factory of Juida and the Island of Goree, where there is not, nor ever will be, any trade. In the intention of extricating themselves from this precarious situation, they had thought, in 1752, of bribing the natives, by presents, and more advantageous offers, in order that they might be allowed to construct a fort at Anamabou,

a part

1756. a part of the coast open indiscriminately to all Europeans, and where affairs are carried on with absolute freedom. They had already begun their establishment, under the protection of a squadron; but a superior English fleet, pretending that it was debauching their allies from them, and infringing the treaties, drove the workmen away with cannon. This account, according to which there would have been some reason for the recriminations of the enemy, would appear suspicious to us from the historian already quoted, if it did not agree with that of the author of the *Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*. Although this writer allows the same facts, he draws a different consequence from them. But it is easily perceived, that his aim is to bring on the odious speech of the Minister, exclaiming, on account of the astonishment that was expressed to him for such a violence: *If we were to be just to the French, we should not exist thirty years longer* *.

If we pass from the coasts of Africa to the Antilles, we shall again hear the English making the most violent exclamations against the incroachments of the French. The Caribee Islands, including under this name, which is that of their antient inhabitants, St. Lucia, Dominica, St. Vincent's, and Tobago, remained in dispute, and in the state of *uti possidetis*, according to the last treaty. Commissaries, appointed by the two Sovereigns, were to decide that point, as well as several others. In the mean time, a Marquis de Caylus, who commanded at Martinico,

* See Vol. III. Book XI, of the *Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*.

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in less than two months after the definitive signing of the peace, of which he could not possibly be ignorant, taking advantage of some acts of authority exercised by the Governor of Barbadoes, for the service of the King his master, before the suspension of hostilities was known, had issued a most violent proclamation, declaring, in express terms, that all those islands belonged indisputably to the Crown of France. He was not a philosopher, like his brother, who was so well known and beloved among the learned, but as haughty and enterprising as the other was gentle and engaging. In consequence of this disposition, he had recourse to violent measures; drove away an English frigate, that came to wood and water there, and erected a battery of canon.

The circumstance which unfortunately proves the validity of this accusation, is the disavowal of the Court of Versailles, and their immediate orders to M. de Caylus, communicated even through the means of the Governor of Barbadoes himself, which enjoined him to evacuate, without delay, that island, and the others under the like description. This evacuation did not take place; it was put off under new pretences; and M. de Caylus, and his successor, died without having fulfilled the King's intentions; for the subterfuges that were made use of to elude them, cannot be attributed to Lewis XV. who was a weak, but not a deceitful Monarch. M. de Bompar, who succeeded there, less turbulent, and a greater friend to conciliatory measures, acted upon the same principles, which makes it probable that he had private orders from the Ministry to persist in delays and evasions.

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1756. This is the more probable, as, during that time, the Count Dubois de la Mothe, Governor of the Leeward Islands, on his side following the example set him by the Governor of the Windward Islands, had erected among the *Caiques* and Turk's Islands, crosses, and inscriptions upon plates of copper, fastened to large posts, with these words: *Continuation of the possessions of Lewis XV. King of France, 1753.* A Captain of a ship belonging to the King of England caused the crosses, inscriptions, and posts to be pulled down, and left a declaration in their stead, which announced, that his master would not suffer those marks to remain, in a place, the possession of which was contested. Those islands, which were almost uninhabited, would have been of great use in case of war, to favour the navigation of fleets and ships coming from St. Domingo. But it was necessary, either to carry this matter by force, or to behave with such caution as to avoid disputes, and the receiving of such an affront. In other respects, these were only trifling bickerings of a puerile pride, while there were scenes passing in the North of far greater consequence, which were followed by effusions of blood, and became so serious, that they occasioned an open rupture between the two Crowns. For, this time, Europe received from America not only war, but all the other evils with which she had supplied her for so long a time.

In that part of the new world called North America, the French had two colonies, Canada and Louisiana, sufficient of themselves to form two great kingdoms, if their population were answerable to their extent. The former—situated on the banks of the river St. Laurence, intersected by many smaller rivers, and

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and containing in the inland parts immense lakes, covered with forests as ancient as the world; admirable for the beauty of it's soil, the salubrity of it's air, notwithstanding the rigours of a long and severely cold season—is remarkably proper for producing and preserving life; the women there are wonderfully fruitful, and old-age is commonly prolonged to a very advanced period without infirmities. Nature, in it's austerity, refusing the productions of luxury and effeminacy, capable of enervating the inhabitants, satisfies all their other wants, and would enable them to do without the mother country, with respect to the necessaries of life, such as food and cloathing. If Canada were cultivated, it would even furnish provisions for the American islands, and supply part of Europe with corn, cattle, and salt-provisions. The sheep, whose wool is celebrated for it's softness and strength, would, with some attention, supply the place of the wool purchased from Andalusia and Castile, for the manufactories of France. The oaks, which are of prodigious height; the pines of all sizes; the firs, the hemp, and the iron-mines, only require an intelligent Ministry to make a proper use of them, and form a complete navy. At the period we are now speaking of, no greater advantage was taken of the preparing of beaver—an almost exclusive branch of trade—nor of the whale and cod fisheries: the fur trade only was attended to; but it was foreseen what might hereafter be done, and to what a flourishing condition this colony might be brought, which was yet in it's infant state, though it had been established near a century and a half.

The latter colony is situated to the south of this. Like New France, the glorious denomination given

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to Canada—which, notwithstanding the rigour of its climate, by no means experiences the horrors of the most northern regions—so Louisiana, though under a burning sky, is exempt from all the inconveniences and troublesome heats of such a situation. The beneficent sun, without depriving it of the productions of the north, serves only to assist the cultivation of those of the south: the provisions are excellent; fish, butchers meat, game, poultry, are better than in any other part of the world; fruits, vegetables, and herbs, have a finer flavour; rice, sugar, indigo, and cotton, are cultivated with the greatest success. Tobacco is the plant which would succeed the best, if the cultivation of it were attended to, according to the first intentions of Government. Nature seems here to have delighted in a profusion of magnificence; and the cabinets of our naturalists are enriched in every branch of natural history with the productions of this fortunate country. A river, not less beautiful than that of St. Laurence, runs through it, and presents to the inhabitants a clear and wholesome stream to quench their thirst; and in which, as in that of the Ganges, they may bathe when they are in a profuse sweat, without any danger. In a word, large meadows for fattening of cattle, and immense deep forests of timber, present as many resources for trade, and for the navy, as Canada.

Unfortunately, this new colony—established only by the Regent, at the time of the System, and under the most brilliant auspices, when a universal desire prevailed of going there, in hopes of making a rapid fortune—became, upon the failure of these hopes, a
country

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country of exile and ignominy. Mines of gold had been searched for there, and not found; while the infinitely more preferable riches of a virgin and fertile soil, which only required being worked, in order to yield a hundred fold, were overlooked. The *Mississippi* was only peopled by vagabonds, women of the town, victims mutilated by vice, and flagitious persons escaped from the sentence of the laws. This was another disadvantage attendant upon Louisiana, (for, at that time, the odious name of *Mississippi* was changed) that this impure origin would either put a stop to the sources of life, or communicate it to beings, shameful of receiving existence, and fearing to perpetuate it. New France, on the contrary, owed it's vigour to it's first inhabitants, who were composed of the military, and of the entire regiment of Carignan; whose families multiplied, and begat a strong and healthy people, full of principle and honour.

However this may be, commerce—which particularly engaged the attention of France since the last peace; which had been remarkably flourishing, and owed it's progress to that philosophic spirit, which, when properly applied, vivifies every part of a kingdom—opened the eyes of Administration upon the importance of these two establishments, which had been too much neglected, and were infinitely preferable to the more flourishing sugar-colonies. A bold project was formed of uniting them, and, by erecting forts at certain distances, throughout the space of a thousand or twelve hundred leagues, to establish an indissoluble chain of communication. Hitherto, this communication had scarce been carried

1756. on, except by the northern parts, where the industry of the French had at first led them, on account of the abundance of beautiful furs. The new road on the southern side shortened the way considerably, and besides made it more easy. The navigation upon the river St. Laurence might be continued by barges as far as the lakes, and one of these is exactly at the source of the Ohio, a river which pours its waters into the Mississippi. To this natural advantage, a political one acceded, which is, that the English colonies would be more confined within their limits beyond the Apalachian mountains—immense heights, between which and the sea they are included. In a word, the communication between Canada and the mother country, being interrupted for more than half the year, when the river St. Laurence is frozen up, a new way of arriving there at all times was opened by the western sea.

This superb project, worthy of a Government which penetrates into futurity, and which, in its vast plan for acquiring some solidity and consistence, comprehends equally its cotemporaries and the remotest posterity, should have been carried into execution but slowly, and required ages to bring it to perfection. Each of the colonies would have advanced in silence, and, from the overflowings of their population, might have supplied those several points; which growing up by degrees, becoming stronger every day, and supported by the back-settlements, would, perhaps, have joined, before their rivals could have perceived it, or would at least have been in a condition to defend themselves against the efforts of their jealousy.

The

The English, on their side, taking advantage of the ambiguous terms of the treaty of Utrecht, or at least of the construction they put upon them, which might have been differently interpreted, with regard to the cession made by France to them of Acadia or Nova Scotia, were endeavouring to extend themselves on the southern side of the river St. Lawrence, and, by confining us in that part, would soon have endeavoured to avail themselves of the advantage of a navigation, of which we had the exclusive enjoyment. This design of their's tended still further to enlarge those bounds in which it was intended to circumscribe them.

Three Governors of Canada successively fulfilled the views of the Court, in driving the English back to the peninsula, to which France pretended they were limited even by the treaties, and in preventing them from getting over their boundaries of the Apalachian mountains, to oppose themselves to the project of union, too soon manifested; this produced a war of posts on that continent, still carried on after the peace, and in which the French obtained such advantages, that George II. at last found the necessity of having recourse to all his maritime forces.

Commissaries appointed on both sides had, in vain, begun conferences at Paris, which had lasted several years; neither party was disposed to give way; they were only endeavouring to amuse, and gain time. Perhaps the unavoidable rupture would not even then have broken out so soon, if it had not been for the accident which happened to Lord Albemarle, Ambassador from London, who died suddenly

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in his coach. Trifling causes sometimes influence great events; he was in love with a young girl, called Lolotte, since Countess of Herouville; his passion was so violent, that he could not detach himself from her, and he palliated, as much as he could, the dissatisfaction he experienced during his negotiations, from the fear of being recalled, and obliged to separate himself from the beloved object. He had frequently been commissioned to impart the complaints of his Court to the Ministry at Versailles, concerning the incroachments of the French in Canada, and the circumstances which give us reason to conclude that they were as legitimate as the preceding complaints, are the apparent satisfactions he received, by disavowals, restitution of prisoners, and orders sent to the governors to be more circumspect—the proceeding of the Duke de Mirepoix, who, after having often, and very lately, protested that France was not meditating any hostility, nor any infringement of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle—expressing his astonishment and concern at seeing facts very contrary to his declaration produced—set out immediately, as if he intended to go and reproach the Ministry with the having made him the instrument of their diffimulation—his return with fresh assurances of the pacific intentions of the King his master, which he vowed he had from his own mouth—in a word, the sending of Buffi, one of the first clerks for foreign affairs, to Hanover, where the King of England then was, in order to explain matters still better to his Britannic Majesty, and to dissipate the storm which was gathering;—all these insidious advances would have

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have been unworthy of a great Monarch, if they had not been regulated upon the certainty of an intended rupture on the part of England. It is therefore evident that the French were the aggressors in Canada, by a system of aggrandizement carried on without interruption since the peace. La Galissoniere had laid the first foundation of it, with that spirit of cunning and craft which was peculiar to him. The cupidity of La Jonquiere had excited him to maintain it, in hopes of the advantages of a commerce, without competition, more extensive and more lucrative. Duquesne carried there the haughtiness, which guided all his actions; he was flattered with the idea of giving his name to a fort erected by himself, and openly made use of force to support his enterprise. His ambition was the immediate cause of the quarrels in the Old and New World.

Beside the sincere desire of Lewis XV. to preserve peace, for which he had made so many sacrifices, which he indeed had always been inclined to, but which was become still more necessary to him from the enjoyment of it, since tranquillity had plunged him again into his natural inactivity: it would also have been for the interest of France to maintain it some years longer, that their navy might acquire the numbers and strength it was in need of. This was the secret motive of their moderation; which, however, did not go so far as to make them neglect the defence and pursuit of their advantages in Canada.

Twenty ships of war were fitted out in the two ports of Brest and Rochefort, which being united,

set

THE PRIVATE LIFE

1756. set sail together in two divisions. The first*, consisting of six ships of the line, and three frigates, all completely equipped, was commanded by M. de Macnemara, Lieutenant-General; and the second†, by M. la Motte, Commodore, who had under him fourteen ships of the line and two frigates; three of the first only had their proper number of guns

* FIRST DIVISION.

List of the first squa- dron.	<i>M. M. Captains</i>		<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>
	de Macnemara, Lieut. General	—	<i>La Fleur de Lys</i>	80
	Montloutet, Commodore	—	<i>L' Héros</i>	74
	Beaufremont, Captain	—	<i>Le Palmier</i>	74
	Fontais, ditto	—	<i>L' Eveillé</i>	64
	Guébriant, ditto	—	<i>L' Inflexible</i>	64
	Cousage, ditto	—	<i>L' Aigle</i>	50
			<i>Frigates.</i>	
	Dubois, Captain	—	<i>L' Amétiste</i>	30
	Mariniere, ditto	—	<i>La Fleur de Lys</i>	30
	Bony, ditto	—	<i>L' Héroïne</i>	24

† SECOND DIVISION.

List of the second squa- dron.	<i>M. M. Captains</i>		<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>
	Bois de la Motte, Commodore	—	<i>L' Entreprenant</i>	74
	Beauffier, Captain	—	<i>Le Défenseur</i>	74
	Montalais, ditto	—	<i>Le Dauphin Royal</i>	70
	La Villéon, ditto	—	<i>L' Algonquin</i>	70
	Bouville, ditto	—	<i>L' Espérance</i>	70
	Hoequart, ditto	—	<i>L' Alcide</i>	64
	Salvert, Commodore	—	<i>Le Bizarre</i>	64
	The Chevalier de Caumont, Captain	—	<i>L' Asif</i>	64
	Choiseul, ditto	—	<i>L' Illustre</i>	64
	Moeflien, ditto	—	<i>L' Opiniâtre</i>	64
	Lorgeris, ditto	—	<i>Le Lys</i>	64
	Saint Lazare ditto	—	<i>Le Léopard</i>	60
	Gomain, ditto	—	<i>L' Apollon</i>	54
	La Rigaudiere, ditto	—	<i>L' Aquilon</i>	44
			<i>Frigates.</i>	
	La Jacquiere	—	<i>La Syrius</i>	30
	De Ruis	—	<i>La Comète</i>	24

on board. The others, having 22 guns, were fitted out as ships of burthen, and had on board them the twelve battalions sent to North America, with the Baron de Dieskau. From the very beginning, several faults were committed, which it is useful to reveal for the instruction of posterity, this being the first duty of an historian. The first fault was committed by the Ministry, who, being apprized of the orders given in Canada for the construction and erection of forts, ought to have made no doubt of the resentment of England, when it should be made acquainted with them, and lost their time in negotiations to amuse that Power, when it was necessary to act. Accordingly, the British Ministry, having learned by advices from their colonies that those works were carried on with the greatest vigour, even during the winter, adopted the violent system which we shall soon see break out. The Ministry committed a second fault, by fitting out most of the ships of the Squadron of M. Bois de la Motte meerly as pinks, and by retaining in Europe for parade that of M. de Macnemara, which might at least have rendered the real service of keeping our rivals in America in awe. They flattered themselves, that by this proceeding they shewed the great desire they had of maintaining the peace, in giving no umbrage to the English by two formidable armaments, in the midst of the general tranquillity of Europe. But this was directly contradictory to the proud answer made by the Duke of Mirepoix, who, upon the notification that was given him of Boscawen's instructions, replied, that *his master would consider the first canon fired at sea, in a hostile manner, as a declaration of war,*

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The General, commissioned to execute the King's orders at Brest, seemed to second the false politics of Administration, by suffering his competitor to get the advantage over him, in setting sail eleven days before him. This was M. de Macnemara, under whose command was M. Bois de la Motte. He was weak enough to suffer his uneasiness to be perceived, by making his will—by giving orders to disembark all his plate—by announcing that he looked upon the war to be unavoidable—and, in a word, by returning to Brest, and pretending sickness, to avoid going again to sea.

These bad measures taken in Europe, which proceeded from the weakness of Government, hurried on to greater lengths than they wished in America, by the enterprising Duquesne, gave a sanction to a stroke given by England, a stroke which France taxed with injustice, perfidy, and the violation of the rights of mankind; which rendered that kingdom odious to all nations—and was even censured by the most honest men in Great Britain, but which, in fact, was an admirable stroke in politics, and more especially justified by its success.

According to the custom of the British Government, of not trusting entirely to mercenary spies, some of their frigates had constantly watched and followed the movements of our two squadrons, since their departure from Brest, till the return of M. de Macnemara. The English, therefore, being certain of a considerable superiority, persisted in the hostile orders they had given; and, while the Duke of Mirepoix was still negotiating at London with the Ministers, and M. de Buffy at Hanover with the King of England, information was received,
that

that Admiral Boscawen having met the French ships *l'Alcide* and *le Lys* off the Bank of Newfoundland, that were parted from their squadron, had wanted to oblige them to salute the English flag, and, upon their refusal, had attacked and taken them, after a combat of several hours, though one of them was only fitted out as a pink. The two brave Captains of these ships were Messrs. Hocquart and de Lorgerie. It was indeed particularly incumbent upon them to defend themselves well, as their bad manœuvring had brought them into this situation, while M. de Montalais, who commanded *le Dauphin Royal*, and had separated from the squadron with them, had extricated himself with more dexterity, and escaped.

This aggression, which exhibited little valour, followed even by the capture of *l'Espérance*, another ship of the line, would not have been an advantage, great enough to cover the infamy of the proceeding from the eyes of the English nation, if it had not been accompanied by a more essential one. This was a general seizure of all the French trading vessels met with at sea *, in what latitude soever. Three hundred of them thus fell with astonishment into the hands of the English †. We have before us an exact list of the ships taken before the declaration of war, a ministerial piece, in which there are some curious details; the result of which is an estimation of the loss, valued at 30 millions ‡, and

* This order had only been given out the 28th of August, after a Grand Council holden at London by the Lords Commissioners, the King being at that time in his electorate.

† In the Appendix, N^o II. we shall give a circumstantial list of all these captures.

‡ One million two hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling.

1756.

10 June,
1755.November,
1755.

1756. in all, including the crews of three King's ships, the loss of six thousand officers, sailors, and marines, and at least of fifteen hundred soldiers, or troops newly raised, made prisoners; a damage the most important, and the most difficult to be repaired.

What was the conduct of France upon this occasion? It was the only proper conduct for a Power, weak at that time, attacked unawares, wanting time to collect it's forces, to distribute them, and, by postponing it's revenge, to make it more certain. As soon as his Majesty was informed of the insult offered to his flag by Admiral Boscawen, he took such steps as became his dignity, recalling his Ambassador from England, and his Minister from Hanover, with orders to depart without taking leave, and breaking with a perfidious Court, whose word could not be depended upon. He poured his grief into the bosom of his Catholic Majesty, and, by a memorial drawn up without delay, and sent to the Court of Madrid, represented the proceedings of the Court of London, before a declaration of war, as a violation of all the sacred conventions of the rights of nations—as an attempt capable of replunging Europe into a state of barbarism, when force was the only law. This artful confidence had a secret political motive in view; that of exciting the indignation of Spain, and of inspiring them with apprehensions of hostilities of the like nature—of opening their eyes to their true interest, and to the necessity of their joining France at this time, when the combined fleets of the two kingdoms might make head against that of the English, intimidate that Power, and reduce it to an equitable disposition, of which the French affected to give the

1756.

the example. In fact, the King, influenced by his first resentment, had given orders to his Squadron, commanded by the Count du Guay, who had succeeded M. de Macnemara, and was now at sea, to engage all the English ships of war he should meet with, to take them, and also to seize the merchantmen of that nation, if he should be informed of their having captured any of ours. But this Commander, although his conduct, by an agreement that could not be foreseen, was consistent with the wavering disposition and disavowals of the Court—for he had done nothing that ought to have been attempted by a brave officer and an able sailor—yet the Council imagined that it would answer their views better, to shew a generosity which did not cost them much, by restoring the frigate, the *Blanford*, the only capture made by the French Commander on his return from Cadiz to Brest. M. Littleton, Governor of Carolina, a passenger on board this ship, was reconducted to an English port, and orders were given at Toulon, if the enemy's Squadron of eight ships, which was in the Mediterranean, should put in at the Islands of Hieres, to suffer it to water there, and if it should come into port, to furnish it with every kind of refreshment it should stand in need of.

To this critical situation between the Courts of England and France, another was added, which did not require less dexterity. The French were upon the eve of quarrelling with the Court of Turin, for a violation of the privilege of asylum and territory. That famous Mandrin, Captain of the smugglers, whose name, like that of Cartouche, is become a

proverb

1756. proverb, to indicate an intrepid villain, after having pillaged the revenue, the Collectors of which he had laid under contribution for near eighteen months—after having escaped from every pursuit, and even made a stand against the regular troops that were sent against him—was at last taken only by stratagem. Some volunteers of Flanders, having disguised themselves like peasants, had seized him at Saint-Genis-d'Ost, a place belonging to Savoy, where he always retired after his expeditions, flattering himself that he was in safety within the dominions of a foreign Sovereign. He was executed immediately, before he could be claimed, and every contrivance was afterwards adopted, to elude the reparation such an insult required. By an artifice unworthy no doubt of the majesty of government, truth was even so far violated, that, in *a short history of his life* *, written and distributed by authority, the unwarrantable capture of him was attributed to the revenge of the Clerks of the farms. It was expected by this means to extenuate an attempt of much more consequence, committed by the King's troops, and with the consent of Court. But the Court of Turin was not the dupe of the artifice, and required an authentic reparation. The Count of Noailles was sent to his Sardinian Majesty, with an express commission to disavow formally all that had passed

* This history is very scarce, and is worth preserving, as well as the sentence, in which are recapitulated all the crimes of Mandrin; which, if success had always attended him, as well as certain conquerors, both in history and fable, would have been extolled as incredible actions of valour. Both these pieces will be inserted under N° III. to which we shall add the speech of the Count of Noailles.

1756.

upon his territory, to tell him that the King his master had punished the guilty persons, and had nothing so much at heart, as to strengthen the bonds of friendship with a Sovereign to whom he was already united by the ties of blood.

This dispute being accommodated, not satisfied with avoiding to make other enemies, the Court of France thought of forming alliances to counterbalance those of England. We shall soon see one brought to light which astonished all Europe, and changed the face of politics.

France, whose conduct had been hitherto marked with irresolution, at last determined upon the war, since the good news received from Canada. General Braddock, sent from Europe by the English, as the most proper person to re-establish their affairs there, had, on the contrary, ruined them by his rashness and obstinacy. Intrusted with the execution of a plan perfectly well conceived, and which tended to no less important a point, than to reconquer in one campaign all the territory which had been usurped, and raise the alarms of the French for their own possessions in Canada and Louisiana, he adopted false measures from the beginning. After having overcome the obstacles which the situation presented to him, he did not proceed with sufficient slowness, circumspection, and caution; he entertained no mistrust of ambuscades, for which the ground was so favourable, and, being desirous of preventing the arrival of a reinforcement expected by the French, he attributed to pusillanimity the prudent advice that was given him, thinking that courage and impetuosity would be sufficient to secure his triumph. It was upon the field of battle only, that he discovered his error.

1756. error. Forsaken by his own troops, whom he had not treated with sufficient indulgence, he maintained his ground almost alone with his officers, persuaded that he had no other mode of justifying himself to his country, but by a glorious death. He was killed, and the papers and instructions, which discovered to the enemy the greatness of the danger from which they were delivered, were found upon him. The rout was so complete, that the news being carried to General Shirley's camp, intimidated the soldiers, a great number of whom deserted; a defection which put it out of his power to fulfil the part of the expedition he was commissioned to execute, and which was the reason that, notwithstanding the check M. Dieskau received at the attack of General Johnson's camp, where the French Commander was also killed, the English General did not dare to avail himself of his victory, by pursuing the enemy, and was satisfied with remaining upon the defensive. But the most fatal effect of Braddock's defeat, in its consequences, and the influence it was to have upon all the operations of the continent, was the confirming in their attachment to France the Indians allied to that nation, who are the necessary agents in the war, and the discouraging of those who were in the interest of Great Britain.

9 July.

The French were therefore employed in preparations, calculated to make the enemy repent of their boldness. Dunkirk is a port in the channel, which, from its situation, has always given them umbrage. It was resolved to restore it. The Prince of Soubise was commissioned by the King to see this effected, and the troops under his command were immediately set to work upon it. This was beginning by
what

1756.

what they should have ended, otherwise, in case of misfortunes, they exposed themselves to the greater humiliation of being obliged to demolish this port a second time.

The navy was the chief object at this period, and was attended to in the first instance. Notwithstanding the state of annihilation to which it was reduced at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, it seemed now to be revived. Unfortunately, there was more shew than reality in this. The following are the expressions used by one of the Ministry, in an historical memorial, the emphatic style of which rather displays a spirit of enthusiasm than of censure.

"We reckoned, it is true, sixty-three ships of the line, in the beginning of the year 1755*, but three of them were condemned as disabled, three had just been taken, four were upon the stocks scarcely begun, eight of them required a general repair, and we were equally in want of wood for the construction, as for the refitting of ships; we had not even wherewithal to fit out the remaining forty-five. We had in our ports neither canon, masts, rigging, materials, nor utensils necessary for the supply of the ships; the fitting out of the two squadrons in the spring had exhausted us; and the British Government, informed of our situation better than ourselves, could not have chosen a more favourable opportunity once more to destroy with

* We refer this list to the Appendix N^o IV. We shall join to it the list of the English, Spanish, and Portuguese navy, and to an account of the forces of several maritime states at this time. This may furnish us with an opportunity of comparing that with their present situation.

1756.

“ facility this reviving marine. Nevertheless, France
 “ has so many resources, when she chooses to exert,
 “ and knows how to direct them, that she stands only
 “ in need of a Minister, active, intelligent, and full
 “ of energy. Such was the administration of M. de
 “ Machault. No sooner are his orders given, than
 “ the iron is put in fusion, and a numerous and
 “ complete artillery is prepared without delay. Our
 “ forests throughout the kingdom resound; the su-
 “ perb oaks, which constituted only the ornaments of
 “ these forests, are cut down for a more useful pur-
 “ pose; the merchandizes of the north, tar, pitch,
 “ hemp, and deal, enter our ports in abundance;
 “ fifteen frigates protect the coasting trade; but all
 “ these preparations are only to pave the way for the
 “ great events which are meditated in silence. Five
 “ squadrons are fitting out at Brest, Toulon, and
 “ Rochefort: troops are marching from all quarters:
 “ immense supplies of provisions, canon, and naval
 “ stores, are collected at the Havre: and England is
 “ at once threatened in her northern possessions and
 “ in her western colonies, in the Mediterranean
 “ and the ocean; the alarm is even carried to the
 “ bottom of her channel; the kingdom is appre-
 “ hensive for it's own territory, and it's vast power
 “ is in a manner confined, and reduced to it's own
 “ defence. Nay more, Great Britain does not trust
 “ to it's own national forces, it calls in the stranger
 “ to it's assistance *; even before the declaration of
 “ the war: it penetrates as far as the confines of

* Eight thousand Hessian infantry, and nine thousand cavalry, landed at Southampton on the 15th of May 1756. Ten thousand Hanoverians arrived on the 20th of May at Chatham.

“ Asia;

"Asia, to obtain succour from an ally, whose very distant situation renders her almost useless——." 1756.

Russia, which is undoubtedly alluded to in this memorial, could not in reality furnish the English with any great assistance in their operations. But even at that time, they had conceived the idea of giving some employment to their enemies by land, and of making a powerful diversion, which, by obliging them to keep numerous armies on foot, should prevent them from continuing to bestow upon their navy all the sums of which it was in need. The Cabinet of Versailles, which had hitherto adopted no settled plan, and was divided about the measures they should take, followed the worst of three opinions, and, while they thought of striking a blow which would be more sensibly felt by his Britannic Majesty, were entering into the views of that Monarch's Council. The first opinion was, that we should confine ourselves solely to naval operations, that all our forces should be carried to America, and that, by making this continent the scene of war, we should prevent that scourge from desolating the continent of Europe. The second opinion, on the contrary, was, to change this war into a land one; and to seize upon the electorate of Hanover provisionally, to serve as a guarantee for the restitution of the King's ships, and of the merchantmen, which we had a right to expect, and required. In a word, the last was a mixed opinion, equally flattering to the vanity of the nation and the glory of the King, pretending that the French might make head in all parts, prevent the conquests in America, and threaten the enemy in Europe; that the only thing required for this was, a good Administration, and a prudent distribution

1756. of the forces of France, by employing them in a proper manner, and with oeconomy. This plan was the one pursued, inasmuch as his Majesty, and the advocates for peace, were given to understand, that the only mode of obtaining it more speedily, was to display at the same time united efforts, capable of astonishing and intimidating England, by fitting out in the several ports all the ships that were proper for the purpose. The land troops were augmented by 40,000 men. Fourscore thousand of our best troops received orders to march from the interior parts of the kingdom; to the borders of the ocean, and the Mediterranean; and, to increase the alarms of the enemy, two Generals, known for their activity and enterprizing genius, were placed at their head. Marshal Belleisle was appointed Commander in Chief over the maritime coasts of the ocean, from Dunkirk to Bayonne; and Marshal Richelieu, over all those of the Mediterranean. A considerable number of transports were freighted, to carry an army upon each of these two seas, wherever it should be wanted. In the mean time, the other troops were marched to the frontiers of the Empire, on the side of Hanover, and several magazines were established in Westphalia, with the permission of the Elector of Cologn, to whom the Marquis of Monteil was sent in quality of Plenipotentiary. This was a brilliant epocha for all the Ministers, whose several departments were soon to be rendered illustrious, and augmented, and who would especially have a variety of employments and favours to dispense, which are so proper to secure a number of creatures to themselves. The navy, though not half so strong as that of England—not having half the number of possessions

1756.

possessions to keep, and to support, being besides united to that of the India company, which was at that time in a flourishing state—might bring back the glorious days of the age, of Lewis XIV. and in case Spain, whose interest was greatly concerned in joining us, should be induced to take this step, it was certain that we should be able to retaliate upon the English flag all the humiliations we had previously received from them. With regard to the war, Count d'Argenson, who was still in possession of that department, assured the King, that his troops, whose activity had been kept up by the several camps that had been formed during the peace, were in good order; that the military discipline had been strictly attended to, and that they were all eager to engage the enemies of his Majesty. In Marshal Saxe the Count had got rid of the person whom he most feared, as being in the way of his ambition. He had just extended his power, by uniting the regulation of the Carabineers, vacant by the death of the Prince of Dombes, and that of the artillery, which Count d'Eu had resigned. In a word, the Monarch being now disgusted of putting himself at the head of his army, Count d'Argenson flattered himself that he should become more master, and more absolute in his department. M. Rouillé had reason to congratulate himself, upon seeing his administration for foreign affairs marked by an event of a singular kind, and calculated to confound all the projects of Great Britain. This Power, disappointed in the expectations they had entertained of Maria Theresa—for whom they had expended so much treasure, and lavished so great an effusion of blood—were not only refused by that Empress the auxiliary troops they had a right to demand

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from their treaties; but they also saw her enter into an alliance with France, by the treaty of Versailles; they saw those two Courts in an instant extinguish their reciprocal animosity, after a contention of two hundred years. Thus it was that the system of policy, suggested by Cardinal Richelieu, vanished, to give place to a new one. The Marchioness of Pompadour, who had not a little contributed to this treaty, and had in consequence of it received a very flattering letter from the Empress Queen, was desirous of perpetuating the memory of this alliance in a medallion *chef d'œuvre*. She had it engraved under her own inspection, by M. la Guay, the most famous artist in that way, upon a medallion of agate-onyx, superior to any of the finest monuments of antiquity. She placed it in her cabinet, and used to shew it with a great deal of self-satisfaction to strangers, who, from the frivolousness of this monument, judged of the disposition of her who had ordered it.

Even the Minister of finances, for whom this period was the most nice, might foresee a kind of glory in the ingenious operations he might contrive, to support the extraordinary expences. In his conferences with the King, after having laid before him the state of the old debts that were to be paid off, given a detail of the considerable mortgages with which the revenues of the crown were loaded, and represented to him the diminution which commerce and industry—carried to an incredible degree of prosperity during a few years peace—would necessarily experience, encouraged his Majesty, by adding, “ It will require great exertions to support the weight of the war. I have calculated the state of your finances, they will furnish me with resources for
“ four

1756.

"four years. If at the end of that time, peace be not concluded, the campaigns cannot be carried on without laying burthenfome taxes upon your people."

Lewis XV. delighted with being able to breathe during four years, went to Madame de Pompadour, and told her, that he had *just been conversing with a Minister, who was the most honest man in his kingdom; for I must give that name*, added he, *to the person who has probity enough to speak with frankness to his Sovereign.*

The slowness of the preparations, necessitated by the circumstances, determined Government to persist in their system of moderation; and, in order to conceal any degree of pusillanimity or weakness they might shew, before they proceeded to a declaration of war—the threats of which could not be put in force immediately, M. Rouillé addressed to Mr. Fox, Minister for foreign affairs at London, a memorial, by which his Majesty, before he gave way to his resentment, demanded satisfaction of the King of England for all the depredations that had been committed by that Monarch's navy, and the restitution of several ships, as well of war as merchantmen, taken from the French, protesting that he would consider a refusal as a declaration of hostilities.

21 Dec.
1755.

Upon the negative answer given by Mr. Fox, written in French—a circumstance reproached to him by his countrymen*—the English, who were settled in France, were ordered to quit the kingdom. All the ships belonging to that nation, which were in our ports, were seized, and cruising was not only autho-

13 Jan.

* See History of the War in 1756.

rized,

1756.

rized, but encouraged by rewards. The safety of the colonies was secured by troops and squadrons sent there; and the more serious project was formed of reducing the island of Minorca; while George II. was to be amused by the threats of invading his kingdom, and surprizing his electorate. In the mean time, 'till the great views of our Ministry could be brought to bear, they took care to excite the enthusiasm of the nation, by pamphlets written under their auspices, though their secret influence in these matters was concealed: these pamphlets, appearing to be merely the effusions of a patriotic breast, under the guise of plain truth and disinterested zeal, were the better calculated to lead the mind astray, and to inflame the heart. There was one of these mercenary authors, making a traffic of their talents, and selling them to every purchaser, but little solicitous of obtaining the confidence of posterity, provided they can secure that of their cotemporaries in office, who courted the honour of being the appointed hireling of Government for that employment. He undertook a periodical work †, in which he described the English not only as perjured, as violators of the right of nations, but as pirates, corsairs, and anthropophagi. His descriptions, which are full of fire, and animated with a noble warmth of style, excited among a great number of readers, not well versed in these political disquisitions, a strong indignation. The inveterate hatred against these perpetual rivals, which had been only slackened, was revived; and so great was the fury, that every one was desirous of exerting against them all those cru-

† *L'Observateur Hollandois, par M. Moreau.*

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elties and horrors imputed to them by this eloquent preacher. The people, soon led on by their passions, made a voluntary offer of their purses, and were eager to sacrifice their lives in a quarrel begun at the distance of two thousand leagues, concerning some savage territories and rocks, which otherwise would have interested them very little: they would neither have comprehended the advantage, nor the purpose, nor the necessity of such possessions.

The eclat which M. de Bouville made at London, and with which all the papers at that time were filled, had still a greater effect. He was Captain of the ship *l'Espérance*, taken the November before, pierced for sixty-four guns, but only fitted out as a pink, having no more than 400 men on board, and twenty pieces of canon of all sizes, two of which only were four-and-twenty pounders. Being attacked by the *Oxford* of 70 guns, and near 600 men, this brave officer had defended himself like a lion for upwards of four hours within pistol-shot, had made the enemy come up twice, being scarce able to support his broadside, and had not stricken his flag 'till he was surrounded by four of the enemy's vessels, which arrived during the action. The impossibility the English found of bringing their prize safe into port; the necessity they were under of blowing her up in the middle of the sea, after having hastily withdrawn the crew; the return of the *Oxford* to Plymouth, taking in so much water, that, immediately upon her arrival, they were obliged to put her into dock; were so many glorious facts which deposed in favour of the nation and the Captain: they wiped off, in a miraculous manner, the stain of ignorance, and bad manœuvring, which had been fixed upon Captain Bouville

1756,

Bouville in the squadron of M. Bois de la Motte ; and the history of the navy furnished no instance of so vigorous a defence. M. Bouville, when he arrived in England, preserved in captivity the same magnanimity he had shewn in action : he would not avail himself of the liberty that was given him to withdraw. He pretended that he had been taken by pirates, and offered with haughtiness to pay his ransom. He distributed among the French prisoners 6,000 livres *, which had been sent him by the Keeper of the Seals.

Several other actions, in which officers of the Royal navy signalized themselves at their setting out, were published with all the ostentatious colouring of panegyric, which, at the same time that it inspired the highest idea of that part of the service, maintained the public confidence. At Martinico, upon the arrival of a small French squadron, under the command of M. d'Aubigny †, the *Warwick*, an English ship of fifty-six guns, was carried off in triumph. She had been surprized at the landing-place by the *Atalante* frigate of thirty-four guns. M. Duchaffault, the Commander, a young Captain, perfectly master of his profession, ardent and impatient to signalize himself, ventured to attack her. The surprize of Captain Shudham (the name of the English officer) who did not expect to have been discovered, increased by seeing a seventy-four gun ship and another frigate of thirty, threw his crew

* Two hundred and fifty pounds.

† It consisted of the *Prudent* of 74 guns, commanded by M. d'Aubigny, Captain ; and the frigates *Atalante* of 34, by M. Duchaffault, Captain, and the *Zephir* of 30, by M. de la Touche Treville, Lieutenant.

into

1756.

into such confusion, that, though he had given proofs of his bravery on other occasions, he defended himself very ill. In this action, not only the courage and skilful conduct of M. Duchaffault were admired, but also the generosity and coolness of the Commanding officer, who, not thinking his assistance necessary, remained a quiet spectator of the engagement, that he might not deprive him of any part of the honour of so signal a victory, calculated to give an example, and to excite emulation among his comrades.

At the same instant, almost, when this intelligence arrived—which, like every thing that comes from distant parts, might be suspected of exaggeration—there happened just off Rochefort, and in some measure within sight from the land, an action, where the combatants were more upon an equality*, but their exertions not less brilliant. The *Aquilon*, commanded by Captain de Maureville, and the *Fidelle* by M. de Lizardais, on their return, after having convoyed two transport ships, fell in with an English man of war and a frigate; they attacked each other with so much

* As our impartiality obliges us to be scrupulously exact in matters of fact—which, through national vanity, are almost always misrepresented on one side or other—we shall state the respective force of the combatants upon the authority of their own accounts.

The English ships were the *Colchester* of 50 guns and 300 men, Captain O'Brien, and the *Lyax* frigate of 20 guns and 140 men, commanded by Captain Vernon. The largest of our frigates carried 24 twelve and 24 six pounders, with 330 men: the other carried 26 eight pounders and 244 men. The English man of war had 22 1-half, 11, and 7 1-half pounders: those of the frigate were eleven pounders. It appears by this state, that we had 136 men more than the English.

warmth

1756.

warmth on both sides; that the engagement lasted several hours, and till late in the night: they did not part till mutual fatigue, inability, and the want of light, forced them to separate. M. de Maureville lost an arm by the first broadside; as soon as he was dressed, he attempted to return to the quarter-deck, but finding it impossible, he cried out, *Courage, my lads, fire away, no striking.* The *Aquillon* had fired 1100 twelve pounders at least; her port-holes were all destroyed, as appears by the journals. What renders the gallantry of these illustrious seamen infinitely more respectable, is, that they speak in the highest terms of the bravery of their enemies. They report, that the *Colchester*, having exhausted all her ammunition, charged her guns at last with spoons and forks, and that they never saw a ship more shattered.

These exploits of particular officers, worthy to be ranked with those of our navy, when in it's greatest lustre under Lewis XIV. were only the prelude to others of more importance. After having imposed upon the English for a considerable time by different feints, by armaments begun, laid aside, and taken up again at Toulon, at length a squadron, under the command of Lieutenant General the Marquis de la Galissoniere, set sail, on the 12th of April, from the islands of Hieres for Minorca. It was composed of twelve men of war, five frigates, six armed sloops, and one hundred and sixty-eight transport vessels, on board of which were 12,000 troops, commanded by Marshal Richelieu, who had under him Lieutenant Generals the Count de Maillebois and the Marquis du Meuil. This force arrived at it's destination on the 17th, the army was landed without opposition, on the 19th

1756.

19th it entered Ciudadella, and marching from thence to Mahon, found that place abandoned by the enemy. They had assembled their whole force at Fort St. Philip; which the nature of it's situation, assisted by art, and millions consecrated to the purpose, had rendered impregnable, according to the opinion at London. The approaches, however, were made; the first shot fired on the 8th of May; and on the 28th of June, six weeks after, the fortress capitulated.

Several circumstances concurred to favour this glorious event. The first was, the uncertainty the British Ministry were in with respect to the object of this first effort of France. Notwithstanding the repeated advices they received from all parts of the design to invade Minorca, they were not convinced, even at the time when M. de la Galissoniere was ready to sail. The King of England, on the 23d of March, acquainted the House of Commons, that he had information of an invasion intended by France against his kingdoms, but did not hint the most distant suspicion of that which was really on the point of being carried into execution.

Hence arose a delay in fitting out and dispatching in proper time a squadron capable either of preventing the disembarkation on the island of Minorca, and reinforcing it with officers, men, ammunition, and provisions, or of engaging the French squadron with a superior force, in case the disembarkation should have been already effected. Even so late as when the preparations began to be made for sending succours to the Mediterranean, the Court of London, as may be seen by the instructions given to Admiral Byng, was still in doubt concerning the destination of the armament at Toulon, which, it was stated, might probably

1756. probably be intended for North America. The instructions themselves were vague and conditional, formed upon mistakes and inconsistencies; the only positive order they contained, was that of putting to sea with all expedition. In other respects, they were made to depend upon a variety of circumstances, so as to create continual embarrassment and perplexity, to raise doubts of every kind, and such as could not be got rid of but by a Commander of great experience, determined resolution, and not less capable of a sudden than of a firm decision. It was, therefore, being guilty of a second fault, to appoint for this expedition a young Admiral, who, to use the words of an historian of his own country, writing in his defence *, *was a man of learning, but never had seen any considerable service as a Commander in Chief.* At Paris, it is well-remembered, when his appointment came to be known, this, and even a worse idea prevailed of him, for even his courage was called in question; he was spoken of in terms of the utmost contempt and indelicacy; and the choice of him was matter of general congratulation.

Some requisitions of a doubtful import, addressed to Mr. Fowke, Governor of Gibraltar, respecting a reinforcement he was to furnish to Admiral Byng, are an additional proof of the disorder of mind under which the Ministry laboured, and clearly evince, that to this cause, more than to any other, the loss of Mahon is to be imputed. Their negligence in providing for the defence of the place had been so great, that they had left it, at this very

* See the History of the War of 1756, already referred to several times.

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critical conjuncture, in the hands of an old man, four-score years of age, without even a Colonel ready to take the command, in case of any accident happening to him; without any officer of rank between him and a Lieutenant-colonel; and, when the citadel was invested, the Captains and Subaltern Officers were absent.

Notwithstanding all these charges, which justly fall upon the British Ministry—whose inactivity and indolence are not to be conceived—we should yet have been baffled, if the measures taken by them, after they were fully apprized of our design, had not been so ill conducted; if the persons employed to execute their orders had not, by committing enormous blunders themselves, made ours of no consequence—for we committed blunders too; and, above all, if the good fortune of Marshal Richelieu had not smoothed every difficulty before him, so as to make him triumphant at the very moment when he expected it the least, and began to despair of success.

Admiral Byng sailed from England the 6th of April, was detained at sea by calms and contrary winds, and did not arrive at Gibraltar till the 2d of May. It was the 8th before he could sail again from that port; and, the wind still proving unfavourable, he did not arrive off Minorca before the 19th: to this time there was no complaint against him; but here, according to the depositions of the witnesses taken at his trial, commences a series of charges, the result of which is, that he did not, on that day, use all the means in his power to avail himself of the opportunity to throw succours into the place, before the arrival of the enemy's fleet;—that on the next

1756. day, when in fight of that fleet, he did not do all that was to be expected of an able and experienced Officer, to bring it to action;—and lastly, that having been roughly handled, without being beat, he returned to Gibraltar, though he might have repaired his damages, kept the sea, and made a last effort to accomplish the principal object of his commission, that of conveying Officers and Engineers, at least, into the port of St. Philip, if it were impossible for him to land large bodies of troops. Upon the proof of these charges he was condemned, and underwent a sentence, rigorous indeed, but yet just, whatever may have been said of it, inasmuch as it was strictly conformable to the law.

The fault of M. de la Galiffoniere was that which almost all Frenchmen are guilty of in naval commands, the suffering his enemy to get the weather-gage of him, which prevented his pursuing him with such advantage as the defeat would otherwise have given him. He laid himself by this means under the necessity of not risking a pursuit, because he might possibly have afforded Admiral Byng an opportunity of slipping by him; and the essential object of his operations was to block up the port. His fine line of battle, however, was greatly admired, although he was to leeward during the whole action.

Various accounts having been given of the respective force of these squadrons, we think it necessary to observe, that they were nearly equal; for if the enemy had 52 guns and 210 men more than we, the stronger make of our ships, the weight of metal, and the opportunity of refreshing and relieving our crews, more than balanced that advantage.

Notwithstanding

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Notwithstanding this avowal, which is due to historical veracity, it is no less true, that if the failure of Admiral Byng was aggravated by the fatal consequences which it gave birth to, the victory of M. de la Galissoniere, moderate as it was in itself, ought, from the importance of the service, to have appeared great in the eyes of the nation; and, without doubt, he would have shared in the triumph of Marshal Richelieu, and the acclamations of the capital, if the laurelled honours of his brow could have protected him from the stroke of death: he died on the road, near Fontainebleau, where the Court was at that time. In him France lost her best Sea Officer. He had much knowledge, which is very uncommon in that line; and his courage was not impaired by it; on the contrary, it was improved, by acquiring a rational foundation. His abilities were equally adapted to action, council, and administration. We have seen him Governor of Canada, where he sowed the first seeds of that jealousy, which afterwards grew up in our neighbours, by suggesting to the Ministry those vast ideas of extensive dominion, which were realized by his successors. He was afterwards appointed commissary, in conjunction with M. de Silhouette, upon the business of the limits of Acadia, to counteract the English commissaries; whose reasonings he totally disconcerted by the subtlety of his arguments. In a word, he was the first in this war who humbled the British flag; and, unfortunately, it must be added, he was the last. After the engagement off Minorca, the French scarce experienced any thing by sea but losses, and what is worse, shame and disgrace.

Notwithstanding the consternation which the besieged, whose whole dependence now lay on a feeble

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garrison, might naturally be expected to be thrown into by the defeat of their Admiral, they did not yet despair, and in this they derived no small assistance from us. The carelessness with which Marshal Richelieu had begun the attacks—where people of the profession charged him with essential omissions—was the cause that the land operations for the siege were but little advanced. From this circumstance accidents had happened, such as might have been foreseen, and could not be repaired without much trouble, care, and loss of time. Distempers had got among the army, and the General had, in consequence, been obliged to order all the fruit-trees in the environs to be destroyed; but there was no remedy against the heat, which began to be intolerable, the expedition having taken place too late in the season. The ammunition, which they had uselessly lavished away, began to fail; and it became necessary to dispatch from Toulon and Marseilles continual supplies of men, powder, balls, bombs, canon, &c. which they were obliged to send for from Strasbourg, so ill had their precautions been taken! At length the advances were so slow, that the Court determined to order M. de Valliere, a celebrated officer of artillery, to Minorca; and he was no sooner set out, than he learned that his presence was unnecessary.

While these things were passing, the rashness of the Marshal suggested to him a resolution not less wild than his preceding conduct had been, and yet, being founded on the known character of the nation, it was the only chance of success. This was, to abandon all the regular attacks which had been begun, to advance upon the open ground, and to assault at once all the outworks, by which the body of the place was defended. By a fortunate coincidence of events,

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events, the second in command, whose name was Jeffrys, and who, on account of the great age of the Governor, had the entire management of the defence, designed that very night to carry off a party of four people, that for some days had been ordered up to fire upon the besieged, by way of exercising them, making them acquainted with the avenues of the advanced works, and especially in order to make the enemy less attentive to our motions, whenever they should be more serious. Jeffrys was overpowered by the ardor of our troops, and taken in his own snare.

Soon after this, and in defiance of the terrible fire of the besieged, they leaped into the ditches, which were 17 feet in depth, and fixed their scaling-ladders, which were but ten feet long. This inconvenience did not intimidate the grenadiers; mounted on each other shoulders, they scaled the rock, and posted themselves on the summit. An act so wonderfully daring astonished the garrison, and the old Governor, to such a degree, that, notwithstanding the little loss they had sustained*, and the good condition of the troops, which were not in the least harrassed, and were plentifully supplied with every thing they wanted;—notwithstanding the condition of the fortress itself, which was equally good, and capable of holding out a considerable time; particularly as the besiegers had nothing in readiness for this new mode of attack;—notwithstanding the probability of succours arriving

* The loss of the English did not amount to more than three officers killed, and five wounded, and seventy-one private killed, and three hundred and twenty-six wounded.

1756. from Gibraltar, with the return of the squadron in greater force—the council of war resolved to capitulate.

Marshal Richelieu thought himself perfectly happy in receiving such a proposal, and granted the enemy the most honourable terms. Upon entering Fort St. Philip; seeing the immense quantity of provisions and ammunition which it contained; the garrison, free from fatigues, reposing in superb casemates with the same security as if they had not been besieged; the fortress dug in the body of a rock, canon proof; ditches of an enormous depth, and mines in great number and of vast extent, sufficient to swallow up whole battalions; the French were terrified at the dangers they had incurred: their fatigues and losses appeared as nothing in comparison with their triumph; they scarce dared to believe it. A clear proof how much courage raises a man above himself, and what extraordinary efforts it makes him capable of in the face of danger, is, that when the General wanted the troops to repeat their bold enterprize, they never could achieve it in cold blood; they were amazed and confounded, themselves, at the prodigies they had accomplished in the last action of the siege, one of the most glorious that ever occurred.

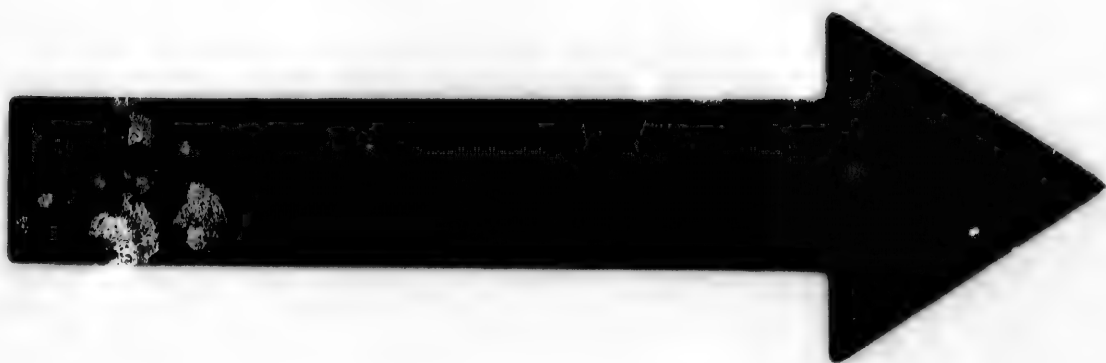
We must not omit one anecdote, which does as much honour to the Marshal, who could conceive so sublime a thought, as to the soldiers, who were capable of feeling it. This was, when he found he could not restrain the drunkenness of the troops by any severities, he caused proclamation to be made, that whoever should be found in a state of intoxication, should not be suffered to mount the trenches. This sort of disgrace was more formidable to them than the common punishments, and never did the
pulpit

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pulpit make so many or such sudden converts; sobriety became a fashionable virtue.

It was not till after this siege was begun, and in some degree of forwardness, that the King of England thought proper to declare war. It seemed as if he wanted to persuade the other Powers of Europe, that he was forced to this measure by such a violent aggression on the part of France. In fact, General Blakeney, Governor of Fort St. Philip, in pursuance, no doubt, of instructions he had received from home, had written to Marshal Richelieu, at his landing upon the island, to inquire what his intentions were, *being ignorant, as he said, of any rupture between his Master and that of his Excellency.* The Marshal, who understood raillery, replied, that *he had only landed his army there, to act in the same manner with respect to the English territories, as the ships of his Britannic Majesty had acted with respect to those of the King of France.*

The Court of Versailles having persisted to this period in the same professions of peace, did not make any declaration of war till after that of the Court of London. The principal motive for this conduct was, to free the Dutch from some difficulties they would otherwise have lain under. Upon the first motions made by the French, England had demanded of the Republic the succours stipulated by treaty, to be supplied whenever that kingdom should be threatened with an invasion. But Count d'Affry, the Minister of France to the States General, represented to them, that they were under no obligation to furnish these succours, but for the purpose of enabling England to act upon the defensive; that, on the contrary, she was in this instance the aggressor, and the King his master was therefore entitled to require



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1756. the performance of covenants entered into between him and the Republic; that, for the present, however, he had no other intention, but to insist upon a perfect neutrality. The Count, by his address, gained such an influence over their deliberations, that this point was carried. In consequence of which, he soon after informed them, that the French troops would not be suffered to make any incursions into the territories of the Republic; and he likewise renewed the promise of neutrality, concluded a few days before with the Queen of Hungary, for the Austrian Netherlands.

The taking of Mahon was a thunder-stroke upon England. On the contrary, it threw Paris into the most violent rejoicings. The hero of the conquest was celebrated in every possible way; the people gave themselves up to an indecent and extravagant mirth; and, in the general madness, the Government had given it's sanction to a song, which, being intended to be sung at the *Comédie Française*, that is, on the national stage—an intention by no means befitting it's moderation, gravity, or foresight—might have produced effects, that could not afterwards have been remedied. This reflection occurred in time; the *vaudeville* was suppressed, and confined to the cabinets of the curious. It is too entertaining and too historical not to deserve a place among the pieces selected to throw light upon our narrative*.

The exertions used at Toulon to fit out the squadron of M. de la Galissoniere, did not slacken those at the other ports. Besides, the squadron under M. d'Aubigny, who was stationed at Martinico, and,

* This song shall be inserted in the Appendix, N° V.

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notwithstanding his weakness, preserved the Windward Islands from all apprehension of danger; another of greater force *, commanded by M. Perier, asserted the honour of our Crown at St. Domingo, and protected the Leeward Islands. A fourth, at the head of which was M. Beaufrier †, had sailed for Canada, with troops, officers, and the Marquis de Montcalm, who was to succeed M. Dieskau. To conclude, the Marquis de Conflans, who continued in Brest-road, with twelve ships of the line ‡, which, it was given

It had set out at the end of February, and consisted of the following ships:

	Guns.	Captains Mess.
<i>Le Courageux</i> —	74 —	Perier, Commodore
<i>Le Protée</i> —	64 —	Roquesneult, Captain
<i>L'Amphion</i> —	50 —	De Vienne, ditto
<i>L'Aigle</i> —	50 —	St. Allouarn, ditto
<i>La Fleur de Lys</i> —	30 —	Marniere, Lieutenant
<i>L'Emeraude</i> —	28 —	Treoudal, ditto

† It set out the beginning of April, and consisted of three ships fitted out as pinks, and three frigates, namely:

Le Héros, of 74 guns, mounting only 46, M. Beaufrier, Port Captain

L'Illustré, of 64 guns, mounting 36, M. Montalais, Captain

Le Léopard, of 60, mounting 26, M. Germain, Port Lieutenant

La Licorne, of 30, M. la Rigaudiere, Lieutenant

La Sauvage, of 30, M. de Tourville, ditto

La Syrene, of 30, M. Brugnon, ditto.

‡ This Squadron consisted of the following ships:

Le Soleil Royal, of 80 guns, M. de Conflans, Lieutenant General.

Le Tonnant, of 80, the Chevalier de Beaufremont, Commodore

Le Défenseur, of 74, M. de Blenac, Captain

Le Superbe, of 70, M. d'Aché, ditto

Le Sphinx, of 64, M. de Coufage, ditto

Le Bienfaisant, of 64, M. de Chateloyer, ditto

L'Apollon, of 50, Le Chevalier de Rohan, ditto.

DIVISION

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out, were to be increased to twenty, gave the English much uneasiness, and obliged them to keep their whole force at home, for fear they should have occasion for it to oppose a descent: an alarm, which, even allowing it to be without foundation, they could not but attend to, because it might be realized by any neglect of necessary defence.

France, by a wise distribution of her forces, though much inferior, and the masterly plans of Administration, was successful this year, not only in Europe, but in every quarter of the world, both in defeating the projects of her enemies, and in gaining considerable advantages over them. For at the same time that the island of Minorca was taken, in Europe, the natives of India, instigated and conducted by the fortunate Buffs, drove the English from Calcutta, Fort William, and all the settlements they had on the coast of Bengal. They lost by this expedition above 50 millions in specie, beside the great advantage that accrued to them from their trade on the banks of the Ganges. In Canada, we had made ourselves masters of Fort Bull, where they had formed considerable magazines of

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Le Dauphin Royal, of 70 guns, M. du Verger, Captain

Le Juste, of 70, le Chevalier de Macnemara, ditto

Le Capricieux, of 64, M. Desgouttes, ditto

L'Éveille, of 64, M. de Merville, ditto

L'Inflexible, of 64, M. Tilly, ditto.

FRIGATES.

La Brune, of 30 guns, M. de St. Lazare, Captain

La Blonde, of 30, M. de Trederne, ditto

L'Améthiste, of 30, M. d'Herly, Lieutenant

La Comète, of 30, M. de Saint-Victoret, ditto.

provisions

provisions and stores, for the purpose of besieging 1756.
Niagara and Frontenac.

This first success, which was necessary to our defence, was soon followed by vigorous attacks, after the arrival of the Marquis de Montcalm, and the reinforcement he brought with him. Chouaqueu, or Oswego, Ontario, and Fort George, were taken: the adventurous spirit of M. Rigault de Vaudreuil, who, at the head of a body of Canadians, swam over a river to cut off the communication of the forts, decided the conquest; the result of which was, turning against the enemy all the ammunition they had collected, at a great expence; which completely disconcerted their plan of operations for the rest of the campaign.

The French met with but one disaster, which was the capture of the *Arc-en-ciel*, a man of war of 56 guns, commanded by M. de Belinghan, carrying men and stores to Louisbourg. He fell in with a squadron of the enemy, which was cruising off that island, before he had accomplished his commission, and was obliged to submit to a superior force. But the seeds of those misfortunes, which followed, were already perceived, in the professional spirit of the Royal navy, ready to break out, and produce its usual ill consequences, whenever it was freed from the restraint of a firm and respected Minister. It was this infernal professional spirit that deprived M. Beausseier, before Cape Breton, not of his own glory, but of that he might have obtained for the French flag, if he had been properly supported. Engaged singly between two English ships, he was obliged to fight for seven hours, in sight of the

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Illustre, a ship of his own squadron, of 64 guns, which, having been becalmed by ill management, made none of those efforts which are used in like cases, to come up with the Commander in Chief. The Captain of this ship was M. de Montalais, of whom we have already made honourable mention, but who on this occasion forfeited his character. He was so much the more culpable, as he was known to be a skilful and brave seaman; and therefore, that which in another would have been imputed to cowardice or ignorance, was in him placed to the score of envy. Beausnier, though of a family engaged in Port employments for a century past, was nevertheless regarded by the officers of the navy * as a man of mean birth. Being himself a Port Captain, neither his exalted capacity, nor his exact and intimate knowledge of the service, could abolish that stain in the minds of these Gentlemen, in whose opinion birth is the first qualification. Even his abilities enhanced his crime, in their eyes; because, being for that reason highly in favour with M. Machault, he became so much the more the object of their jealousy, as they were apprehensive of seeing him soon promoted to the rank of a General Officer. The campaign of 1755, had done him great honour; he commanded the *Défenseur* in M. de Salvert's squadron, and the stern countenance he maintained had kept at a distance

* It is to be observed, that Port-Officers, though ranking with the others, are not considered by them as making part of the grand corps; because they are not obliged to produce proofs of Nobility, are not chosen from the company of Marine Guards, and seldom rise but by their merit.

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the English ships, which chased them on their departure from Louisbourg : the brilliancy of this action might have procured him a flag.

Such was the private motive of M. de Montalais' conduct. M. de la Rigaudiere, Commander of the *Licorne* frigate, not able to resist this mean jealousy, behaved himself equally ill, and did not obey the chasing signal, under pretence of the same treacherous calm. What proved the futility of this pretence, was, that M. de Breugnon, Captain of the *Syrene*, despising such sentiments, found wind enough to obey the signal, and with true magnanimity, sacrificing his vanity to his duty, passed by a brig which his frigate might easily have taken, and boldly bore down to the two large ships, galling, and embarrassing their movements, by which he gave the *Heros* time to recover. That ship, though she had 80 of her hands killed or wounded, and her rigging cut all to pieces, yet kept up a fire superior to that of both the ships of the enemy, and, the wind springing up, the assailants quitted her and sheered off.

A stronger proof still, than any argument, of the misconduct of the *Illustre* and the *Licorne*, is, that when the sailors of those two ships went on board the *Heros* to give assistance, the crew of the latter expressed their resentment by reproaches, invectives, and even the most humiliating abuse; that, upon their return to Louisbourg, the inhabitants loaded with praises the people of the disabled *Heros*, and ridiculed the nice, unruffled dress of the *Illustre* and *Licorne*; and finally, that M. de la Rigaudiere, to avoid so disgraceful a comparison, left his squadron, under favour of a fog, and chose to run the
risque

1756. risque of another crime, by returning directly to France.

This pride, so interwoven with the essence of the Royal navy, has been the cause, that they have always held the most useful and most respectable of their employments to be unworthy of them, that is, protecting commerce, and convoying fleets. This part of the service, which is attended with least honour, is infinitely more difficult than many brilliant actions; it requires a deep knowledge of the science, a continued vigilance, an unremitting severity, a zeal capable of sacrificing every thing to the object of it's duty; qualities, not one of which is often to be found among these Gentlemen. They might perhaps have acquired them, if the Keeper of the Seals had remained in place, and had had leisure to punish ignorance or ill intentions. M. Chauvreau, Captain of the *Hermione* of 26 guns, and M. Méchin, commanding the *Friponne*, of 24 guns, convoying a fleet of small ships from Bourdeaux, deserved to have been made an example of. Having been informed, at some distance from the port, that a small frigate and two privateers had been seen on the watch, and that they might easily take them, these officers not only neglected to look after them, but, leaving their little fleet out at sea, moored themselves at night under the canon of the Isle of Aix, and, after having taken care of themselves, left the rest to chance: in consequence of this, the enemy took a considerable number of the barks; which produced warm representations from the Chambers of Commerce at Nantz, Bourdeaux, and Rochelle, who were interested in the matter. They complained no less of M. d'Aubigny, who, by his inattention to the

Martinico fleet under his care, suffered it to be dispersed. Part of it, valued at five millions *, fell into the hands of the English, and another part was forced to take shelter in neutral ports.

At last, upon the return of M. Perier, it was discovered, that the campaign had by no means been a glorious one; several capital misdemeanours were imputed to him, such as not having availed himself of the superiority of his force over that of the English, and not having destroyed them in the latitude of St. Domingo; of having traded in the colony, with extortion and scandalous oppression; not having brought safe home the fleet of merchantmen intrusted to his care, more especially when near the coast of France; and having neglected to attack a convoy of the enemy, consisting of 25 sail, which he might with ease have made himself master of. To these, was added the ill treatment he had given to the Clerks of the Revenue, while the squadron was lay'd up, and of which the Directors had made heavy complaints to the Ministry. All these faults proceeded from another radical fault in the corps, that voracious avidity, which engrosses a Naval Officer, who is too often accustomed to gratify it with impunity by lucrative acquisitions, and to make the interests of the State subordinate to his own.

All these culprits remained in safety, by the connivance of their brethren, who ought to have been the first to promote a reform in the corps. Orders had indeed been given to M. Dugné, who commanded in that department at Brest, to institute

* Upwards of two hundred thousand pounds.

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the necessary inquiries into the conduct of Messieurs de Montalais and de la Rigaudiere, "*but*," says a journal of that place, "the depositions contained " nothing of consequence against the accused. The " Commandant said to those that were called as witnesses : *Speak out, fear nothing ; you must speak the " whole truth.* But they had met with Major " Rozilly in the antichamber, who had cautioned " them to weigh what they said, because it was a " hanging matter—and thus," adds the historian, " the King is served !"

M. de la Rigaudiere, however, could not endure the stings of his own conscience, and, notwithstanding the probability he had of escaping as well as his comrade, he resolved to do justice on himself : he was found hanging in a garret at his own house ; a species of heroism, which washed away his crime in the eyes of many people, and caused him to be pitied. He was brother to M. de l'Eguille, an officer of distinction in the same corps, and whose severe reproaches contributed not a little to drive him to such an act of despair.

As for Messieurs de Chauvreau and Meschin, they had no other punishment than that of being lay'd by ; M. d'Aubigny continued Commander of a squadron, and M. Perier had too much the ear of the Keeper of the Seals, not to be able to justify himself.

Thus, while at London they were shooting Byng—who had indeed incurred the letter of the law, but had defended himself with great presence of mind, by excellent arguments, and in a manner so prevailing even with his Judges, that they solicited his pardon—we in France left unpunished officers incontestibly

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Contestibly guilty, accused of the meanest crimes, without a single circumstance in their favour, and against whose conduct the depositions of their crews, the petitions of entire bodies of men, and the national voice, uniformly pleaded. It was these traitors to their country, that made the greatest outcry against the sentence of the English Admiral, because, when they turn'd their eyes upon themselves, they saw how much more worthy they were of punishment. It was these very men, who, by holding up, as an act of extreme cruelty, the inflexibility of that Monarch—influenced by the necessity of a great example, and impressed with the truth of that maxim, which, however dreadful, is politically just; that *one should die for the safety of a whole people*—almost succeeded so far as to blast his character in the public opinion. But whatever may be said of the opposite conduct of the two States, it was easy to foresee, which would be the conqueror. The Court of London soon gained the superiority in point of negotiation. In truth, while the French were congratulating themselves on the treaty of Vienna, the English considered it as a political event of a brilliant aspect, from the novelty of the spectacle it afforded, but disadvantageous at the bottom, inasmuch as we could not acquire the friendship of the House of Austria, without making an enemy of the King of Prussia, whom they looked upon to be no less formidable; and therefore they embraced, without delay, the opportunity of allying themselves to him. By this management, the King of England acquired a Protector for his electorate of Hanover; as to the rest, he made no doubt, that the ambition of his new ally would embroil Germany,

1756. many, and engage us in a land war, which was so greatly for his interest. Sensible, at last, of the fault we had committed, in neglecting and giving umbrage to this Monarch, we dispatched M. de Val-lory to Berlin; but it was too late; the blow was struck, and before the year was at an end, we were to feel the fatal effects of it.

The conduct of England towards Spain was not less politic. She was the Power most necessary to us in the present conjuncture, and we could not flatter ourselves with the prospect of making head against the former by sea without the assistance of the latter. But the success depended upon the instant, while our navy, yet fresh and in full vigour, could join that of his Catholic Majesty, and furnish that example and energy which they stood in need of. No time ought to have been lost to press and goad on their indolence, to point out their true interests; or rather, we ought to have made sure of so essential an ally before we had risked a rupture. On the other hand, how did our rival act, who knew better than we did the importance of Spain? She soothed them into tedious negotiations; affected to accept of their mediation; gave up some articles of trade, that might have become subjects of dispute; passed over some acts even of injustice committed against her subjects, some affronts offered to her flag; and, while she thus kept this formidable nation inactive, she kept Portugal in subservience to her interests, and obtained for her defence gold and diamonds from the mines of Brazil, which that kingdom engaged to work for her profit.

To avail herself more fully of this respite, she pressed

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pressed the King of Prussia to lose no time, that might be employed to make a powerful diversion. Accordingly, while France was hesitating how she should act with regard to Hanover—restrained on one hand by scruples of infringing the peace of Westphalia, to which she was guarantee, and on the other, certain of doing it without danger, because the head of the Empire was her ally—the Prussian Monarch, less delicate, and more decisive, sent Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick into Saxony, at the head of 60,000 men, who took possession of Leipzig. This invasion was accompanied with a manifesto, in which he declares himself forced to this enterprize, to prevent the hostile designs of his enemies. He pretends, that the Empress Queen had armed first; that the choice of peace or war is in her hands; that she has only to make an explicit declaration of the motives of her military preparations, and public tranquillity will be restored. He protests, moreover, that he regards the Saxon territories merely as a deposit, which he will restore to the King of Poland, as soon as he can without danger.

That Monarch, being taken unprovided, leaves Dresden, after having made to his enemy all the offers of neutrality which his present situation could suggest, and having received this mortifying answer: *What you propose, does not suit me; I have no terms to make.* He retired to Pirna, where seventeen thousand Saxons were encamped, under Count Rutowski.

His Prussian Majesty arrived the same day at Dresden, placed a garrison in the city, established

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at Torgaw a board of officers to receive the revenues of the country, stripped the arsenals of all the arms he found in them, for his own use, raised new levies of troops, seized upon all the money, provisions, and ammunition, he had occasion for, and demanded of the Queen of Poland the keys of the archives of the House of Saxony. That Princess, more resolute and more intrepid than her husband, refused to deliver them. Upon her refusal, they prepared to break open the doors. In vain did she place herself before them, making her own person their bulwark; neither her person nor her courage were respected; the sacred cabinet was violated, and those papers, which were of consequence for the conqueror to see and to have in his possession, were taken away. Furnished with these documents, which served only to confirm his resolution, he caused the camp at Pirna to be invested, while, from that which he occupied at Zedlitz, he commanded in Saxony as a conqueror. It was to no purpose that the Emperor summoned him to withdraw his troops from the Electorate, under pain of incurring the penalties prescribed by the laws of the Germanic body, whose liberties the Prussian Monarch gave out he was come to preserve; he replied to this judicial process by the battle of Lowositz. The news of this he announced to the Queen-Mother, by the following note in his own hand. "This morning I have gained a victory over the Austrians. Great abilities were exerted on both sides; the event was doubtful for some hours, but at last it pleased God to give us the superiority." Whatever the Austrians may alledge in their own accounts,

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counts, it was undoubtedly a victory, inasmuch as Count Brown was prevented from fulfilling the grand object of his operations, which was to free Saxony; and King Augustus was obliged to retire, with the Prince Royal, to the Castle of Konigstein, while his army, after attempting in vain to escape, was reduced to the deplorable extremity of surrendering themselves prisoners of war, and all this in less than a fortnight. The letter of Augustus II. to his General, authorizing him to act according as his own discretion, or the necessity of the situation, should prescribe, in disposing of the army, explains this problem better than any argument. It proves this Prince to have been actuated by impressions, either of the most abject terror, or the most abandoned despair. There are even words which indicate both. *We must (says he) submit to the decrees of Providence, and comfort ourselves with the rectitude of our sentiments and intentions.* These are the natural expressions of a mind sunk under a load of sorrow. He recovers from this, and adds, "my enemies would impose upon me the most humiliating conditions, adapted to the desperate state of my affairs.—I cannot listen to them. I am an independent King; and as such, I will live and die; my last breath shall expire with honour." Again he relapses. "I leave totally to your discretion the fate of my army; let the Council of War determine, whether you shall surrender prisoners, perish with your arms in your hands, or perish by famine.—I pledge myself to you, that you shall not be made responsible for any thing—all I require of you is, that you will not serve against me or my allies."

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Art. I.

Art. III.

Art. V.

Art. X.

The capitulation soon followed; it was singularly marked by the King of Prussia's mirth. He declared to his brother King, that if he would give him this army, there was no necessity to make them prisoners. Upon the demand of subsistence, he answers: *Granted, and to-day, rather than to-morrow.* With regard to the Body Guards, which his Polish Majesty desired should be sent back free, he refused, and added: "a man must be mad, to let troops go, whom he is once master of, in order that they may oppose him a second time, and that he may be obliged to make them prisoners again." When precautions were mentioned to ascertain the supply of provisions to the troops, he took this upon himself, and assured, that it should be more regularly paid than heretofore.

Such was the result of the alliance contracted by the King of Poland with the Empress and the Czarina. He lost his army and his Electorate, and received, as a favour, the permission of retiring into his other dominions; where he was holden in such contempt, that not one of his subjects could even venture to propose giving him any assistance. During the whole of this war, he no more made his appearance on the scene. The Queen, who supported her dignity better, animated by the blood of Austria, which circulated in her veins, would not quit Dresden; but, unable to support herself under the affliction with which she was consumed, she died there a year after.

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This aggression of the King of Prussia, was undoubtedly a master-piece of prudence, foresight, activity, and boldness in politics. But was it
equally

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equally strict and just in the eyes of equity? Certainly so; not only if he had got proofs of the plot laid to deprive him of his dominions, but even if he had suspicions sufficient to ground his alarms upon, and to determine him to discover a mystery, which there was so urgent a necessity to detect; a mystery, the depth of which he could no otherwise fathom, than by a sudden and secret invasion. The consequences shewed, that his conjectures were but too well verified; that he had not a moment to lose; and that if he had not crushed the Elector his rival, while that Prince—restrained less by principles of justice, than by the conviction of his weakness—was hesitating upon the mode of preventing him, he would have fallen himself under the number and efforts of his formidable enemies. The critical situation in which that Monarch has frequently been since that time, notwithstanding the inaction of Saxony, and notwithstanding the junction of that Power—since all it's troops were incorporated with, and served to augment his own army—justified his conduct, and the regularity of his proceedings. The King of Prussia, who was compared to Mandrin at Paris *, and so often styled the *illustrious robber*, will only be considered by posterity, better informed, as having been the most resolute, most enterprizing, and most active of all the Sovereigns his contemporaries.

There was one consideration which might have checked this Monarch, had he been a less pro-

* The curious songs that were sung at the time upon this subject, deserve to be preserved, as historical pieces. See the Appendix, N^o VI.

1756.

found politician; this was, the apprehension of exciting France against him, the sensibility of which kingdom he well knew. The affront given to the Dauphin's father-in-law, could not fail of raising a violent ferment there; the tears of an august daughter-in-law, the solicitations of the Prince her husband, and the example of what had past before, must all have concurred in making him apprehend a rupture. But this rupture being unavoidable, he was only before-hand with it: he had at all times seen the generous and blind zeal of that Power for the interest of their allies: he foresaw that they would not confine themselves to the assistances stipulated in the treaty of Versailles; he knew, that by means of the Chevalier Douglas, and of an emissary still more dextrous (an anecdote which we shall have occasion to develop hereafter) †, they had rendered useless the treaty of Russia in England, and had determined the Czarina to turn against him the fourscore thousand men designed at first for that Power. He chose rather, by accelerating the diversion, to furnish England, which urged him to it, with greater facility to support the maritime war. He delayed not, therefore, the giving of a personal affront to France, in preventing Count Broglio, Ambassador from his Majesty to the King of Poland, to repair to that Prince at Warsaw, where his public character called him. As Frederic could not mean to commit an insult without a motive, and as he had a reason for every

† The person here alluded to, is Mademoiselle d'Eon, sent first by herself as a woman into Russia, and afterwards as a man, with the Chevalier Douglas.

thing he did, it is to be presumed, that he hoped by this measure to retard the course of the negotiations already entered upon, and to obstruct a dangerous communication.

However this may be, his Minister Plenipotentiary soon received orders to leave the Court, and M. de Vallory to return into France without taking leave. The land war was resolved upon, and Count d'Estrées was appointed to go and consult with the Court of Vienna, the best means of being serviceable to that Power. The result was, with the magnificence common to France, as a substitute to the 24,000 men they were obliged to furnish, and which were claimed by the King of Poland—but which had been made to march in vain the preceding autumn—to raise, the following spring, an army of 100,000 men, under the command of Marshal d'Estrées, in order to act with éclat in Westphalia. This army was soon after followed by two others: one upon the Upper Rhine, commanded by Marshal Richelieu, and another on the Main, by the Prince of Soubise. These two last Generals had been appointed by the Marchioness. The first had carried it by his merit, but he soon fell a sacrifice.

The Court of Vienna, with which he had just concerted the plan of the campaign *, had supported him with its credit, in order that the execution of it might be intrusted to him. He was thwarted by a cabal; and, his haughty character disdaining that suppleness, and being repugnant to

* See the *Explanations presented to the King, by Marshal d'Estrées*, printed in 1758.

1756. the absolute dependence required by the favourite, he was disgraced.

In fact, though Madame de Pompadour no longer retained over her august lover that empire which the allurements of the senses gives, yet her influence had not diminished; it even increased every day, and it was that lady who reigned, under the shadow of the Monarch's authority. He was delighted to find a person on whom he might throw the weight of his Crown; and the Marchioness, in order the better to support it, had for some time given herself up entirely to politics. It was the Abbé Count de Bernis who had initiated her into the mysteries of this science. This Abbé, a man of quality, but poor, had at first given himself up to his taste for wit and pleasure. He had early acquired a seat in the Academy of France, but had not been able to obtain any benefice. One day, when he was soliciting the ancient Bishop of Mirepoix, that prelate answered him: *Monsieur l'Abbé, it is in vain that you importune me; while you continue to make verses, and do not alter your mode of life, you shall have nothing.—Well, my Lord,* replied the other with an arch smile, *then I will wait.*

He was an amiable man, polite, and insinuating with the women; he was upon exceeding good terms, nay upon the best, as it has always been thought, with Madame d'Etiolles. He kept her company, at the time of the journies of Lewis to the army, and comforted her during his absence, for she did not always go with him: the example of Madame de Chateauroux alarmed her; and if curiosity, or the necessity of satisfying the earnest desires of the King, obliged

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obliged her sometimes to remove with the greatest secrecy, she soon returned into her solitude.

The position in which the Abbé de Bernis found himself, awakened his ambition. Embassies being the kind of dignity most compatible with his profession, he made himself thoroughly acquainted with the interests of Princes, and gave instructions to the favourite. Thus it was that they improved each other. After having sent him into different Courts, where he was commissioned to give a great idea of this lady, and to conciliate the Sovereigns to her, she had him recalled to Versailles, introduced him into the Council, and appointed him Minister for foreign affairs.

In the summit of grandeur to which Madame de Pompadour was raised—when she acted as Madame de Maintenon had done, when she appointed the Ministers and the Generals, received the Ambassadors, and was in correspondence with all the foreign Powers—the King himself judged proper to observe more decency, in an intercourse wherein sensual gratifications had no share. Accordingly, all the secret communications in his apartment at Versailles, and in his other palaces, were walled up; the Marchioness was appointed Lady of the Bedchamber to the Queen, and presented in that quality, by the Duchess de Luynes, the most austere woman of the Court, and the favourite of her mistress.

7 Feb.

In order to keep up an appearance of consistency, with this affectation of prudery, Madame de Pompadour determined the King, who could not commence the war without oppressing his people, to give the first example, and retrench part of his household. He got rid of several sets of hounds, and a great number of

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of race-horses, in both the stables. There were also some regulations made respecting the little journies, to make them less expensive: it was resolved, that there should be no more public festivals at Court; and the works of the Louvre were suspended. Unfortunately, there was more shew than reality in all this; even the Ministers made a jest of this hypocrisy; Count d'Argenson said, that these savings were so trifling an object, that they would scarce serve to enrich a Commissary of provisions during the war. A little time after, the old manners were resumed again, and matters became worse and worse; for licentiousness is always greater after a reformation; it is a torrent restrained, which overflows with greater violence.

Nevertheless, under cover of these sacrifices, the King was thought authorized to demand the new subsidies required for a war, which extended itself to the continent, and was going to set Europe in flames. The sixteen millions * voluntary donation of the clergy, had been but as a drop of water; the resource of renewing the lease of the farms, which increasing the donation by a few millions, had produced sixty extra millions †, was exhausted. Funds were wanted for the approaching campaign:—M. de Sechelles was no longer in office; being appointed Comptroller-General, upon the dismissal of M. Machault, he had been promoted to this dignity by unanimous choice, but did not maintain his reputation. From one of the first Intendants of the army that had ever been employed, he became an indifferent Minister of

* Between six and seven hundred thousand pounds.

† Two millions five hundred thousand pounds.

finance.

1756.

finance. His only acts of administration were to suppress the under farmers, which was very much censured; and to increase the numbers of Farmers General from 40 to 60; a manœuvre which was not less blamed, inasmuch as it was confirming more and more the influence of those public characters, odious to the nation, who are called by derision, *the columns of the State*, but who are too really the destroyers and tyrants of it. He was worn out with labour, and infirm; his head was growing weak, and he gave a proof of it, in pointing out to the King, his son-in-law, M. de Moras, for his successor, a man of the most slender capacity of any that had for a long time appeared at the head of the finance. It is at this period that Marshal Noailles—a bad commander, but a great politician, and an excellent citizen—foreseeing the misfortunes of his country, made a pretence of his very advanced age, and obtained his Majesty's leave to retire from the Council; where he was succeeded by Marshal Belleisle. It was imagined, that this Nobleman—who had passed his life in the most assiduous study, either at the head of the armies, or intrusted with the highest embassies and most important affairs—who was personally acquainted with all the Princes in Europe—who had visited their respective countries, and thoroughly weighed their interests and their powers—would prove a worthy substitute to his predecessor.

To the administration of M. de Moras, we are to ascribe the beginning of that multitude of taxes with which France hath since been burthened, without interruption, to the end of the reign of Lewis XV. He set out under the most sinister auspices, by causing a Bed of Justice to be holden at Versailles, for the registering
of

13 April.

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21 Aug.

of three money edicts. An advantage, which might at least have been derived from the last so glorious war, that of making the enemies defray the charges of it, had been neglected. The King's generosity has been greatly extolled, in having gratuitously restored to them the conquests he had made; but had he not been compelled to it by the secret causes before mentioned—causes which by intrigue and jealousy were represented to him as more urgent—this generosity, exercised at the expence of the interests and happiness of his people, would have been much misplaced.

The intoxication of success had precluded this reflection, when, in 1749, the prolongation of the first *vingtieme*, was proposed, not only as the means of clearing the debts of the State, but also as an operation of œconomy, which being joined to the order his Majesty meant to establish in his affairs, was to furnish him with resources capable of securing, in times of necessity, the glory of his kingdom, and the tranquillity of the allies of his Crown, without being obliged to have recourse to extraordinary means. An expectation so flattering had alleviated the burden of the new impost. The first edict that was registered destroyed the illusion; the public were informed in it, that, after a course of seven years, the Government was still very far from the end proposed, and that the diminution of the debts was so little advanced, notwithstanding the payment of the first *vingtieme*, that they were obliged to assess a second, that is, to employ, almost at the beginning of the war, those resources his Majesty had meant to avoid, or to reserve for the most extreme exigencies. The two other edicts were nothing more than additional

taxes.

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taxes. The consternation was universal: the several Courts, likewise, began that long train of remonstrances, the obstinacy of which concurred exceedingly in their annihilation; but none of them signalized themselves more on this occasion, than the Court of Aids. M. de Maleherbes, son of the Chancellor, was then at the head of them. He was eager to manifest his patriotism, and to efface the shame brought upon the name of Lamoignon, by his father, who was the Minister of the oppressive will of the Monarch. There can be nothing better composed than the remonstrances of his tribunal upon this subject. They produced, at least, in preference to the rest, the effect of determining the King to settle the uncertain duration of these imposts. His Majesty answered, that they should be suppressed on the day of the cessation of hostilities, instead of that of the conclusion of the peace. This is the time to rescue these writings from the injurious oblivion to which Ministry endeavours to consign such precious monuments of zeal, which cannot be made too public*. In them we shall see the origin and progression of the evils of France, traced from the improper assessment of the taxes, from the odious modes of collecting them, from the total negligence of the proper formalities, and especially from the arbitrary exertions which have always been substituted to legal proceedings; and we shall be convinced, that there is no physician skilful enough to save the kingdom, unless, as in desperate diseases, where the knife and cautery are used to destroy gangrened parts, violent means are

* These remonstrances, too long to be inserted here, will be found in the Appendix, No VII.

employed

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employed to restore it; or unless, to use the expression of a young and ardent soldier*, full of energy and patriotism, *he should temper our souls anew* †.

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In the concurrence of general and private calamities with which France was afflicted—when the people, notwithstanding the first successes of the war, were oppressed with new taxes, and upon the least reverse of fortune threatened with others more considerable—when the Parliament, separated and dispersed, was incapable of forming any opposition to them—when the Clergy, discontented, groaned under the oppressions of the Church, it's Priests in confinement, it's Bishops in exile—and when the presumptive heir to the kingdom, languishing in involuntary inaction, was incensed to see a woman fill those important functions, which the indolent Monarch ought to have committed to him alone—there happened a dreadful catastrophe, which, though unexpected, was immediately referred to some of these fatal causes.

5 Jan.

On the eve of Twelfth-day, an attempt was made to assassinate Lewis XV. in his palace, in the midst of his guards, surrounded by the great officers of the Crown, and in the presence of his son. He was getting into his coach to go to supper, and to sleep at Trianon, when he felt himself hurt by a smart stroke on the right side, between the ribs; it was about six o'clock, and dark; under the arch-way, which was very little lighted, there was the usual crowd of Courtiers and idle persons always eager to see the King. The intenseness of the cold, obliged the spectators to wrap themselves up in their great

* See the preface to the *Tactics* of M. de Guibert.

† *S'il ne retrempe vos âmes.*

coats: the regicide had one, and, after having perpetrated his crime, he had put his knife up into his pocket, had mixed with the crowd, and might perhaps have escaped under this general disguise, if he had had the precaution to keep his hat in his hand, as every body else did. His Majesty perceived, by the blood running down, that he was wounded; he turned about, and, seeing a stranger with his hat on, and a wildness in his look, said, with the greatest composure, *There is the man who struck me; take him up, and do him no hurt.*

The King, however, was soon seized with terror, which was increased by those who were about him; the wound might be mortal, and though slight, might become so, if the weapon were poisoned. The King was put to bed; the surgeons were sent for; the Queen and the Royal Family came about him; he did not see his tender mistress, and, judging that she had been put out of the way, that they concealed his danger from her, and that this was his last day, he asked for a Confessor. His own, and his Chaplains could not be found; a common priest was stopped to do this delicate office. In vain did he make excuses, and urge his ignorance, saying, that he did not know how to give the absolution to Kings; he was taken by force and conducted to his Majesty, and was obliged to see this august penitent at his feet. Confusion, anxiety, and terror, prevailed thus in the palace, till next day, when the surgeons having taken off the dressings, found, instead of a wound, nothing more than a large bleeding orifice, which would not have prevented a private individual from attending to his affairs.

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During this interval, every attempt had been made to gain from the assassin the necessary informations respecting so enormous a crime: the imagination was bewildered in conjectures of all kinds. The first thing he said, the moment of his being seized, had only served to redouble the alarms, and the suspicions of a deep-laid and meditated conspiracy against the whole of the Royal Family: he had cried out, with the tone of a man penetrated with remorse, and who has great things to disclose: *Take care of the Dauphin, don't let him stir out all day.*

The row of the body guards, and of the hundred Swiss, through which the parricide had made his way, when he lifted his hand up against the King, were transported with rage. The Duke d'Ayen, officer upon duty near his sacred person, exasperated that this attempt should have been committed under his eye, had given rigorous orders to have the criminal questioned immediately, and to extort his horrible secret from him. The blind and fatal zeal of these military men, induced them to have recourse to the most cruel treatment to force him to speak; they pinched his legs with red-hot pincers, and would thus, perhaps, have screened him, as in the case of Clement, by a too speedy death, from exemplary punishment and the pursuits of justice, if the *Grand Provost* of the *Hôtel*, to whom the cognizance of this crime, committed in the palace, belonged, had not seized upon the regicide. From his more regular mode of proceeding, the alarms were soon quieted, respecting the causes, and the consequences that were dreaded by this assassination. It was found that the parricide, whose name was *Robert Francis Damiens*, born in the province of Artois, among the lower class
of

of people, and having been nothing more than a footman, had not been urged on to this deed by any reward, instigation, or advice; that he was not even a religious fanatic, as Clement and Ravallac were, but a fanatic of patriotism; or rather a man seized with a frenzy, out of his senses, a furious madman, who, impelled involuntarily to his crime, had wished to avoid committing it, by quieting, in the usual manner, the effervescence of his blood; he protested, that if he had been let blood as he desired, he should not have been guilty of it.

At the first news of the King's assassination, which reached the capital a few hours after, every thing was in commotion: the Princes of the blood, the Nobles of the kingdom, and the principal Magistrates, repaired to Versailles; the Archbishop ordered prayers for forty hours; and the public diversions were closed. But what a difference was there between this epocha and that of the King's illness at Metz! The monster, who had dared to lift his hand against the *Lord's anointed*, was undoubtedly detested and execrated; inquiries were made after the Monarch; all the details of this incredible catastrophe were searched into; but it was from motives of curiosity, and not of concern; no tears were shed; the churches were empty. A great lesson for Lewis XV. had he been capable of receiving it, and had not adulation disguised from him the real sentiments of his people! Damiens, indeed, did not conceal them from him: He had the boldness to write a letter to his Majesty, in which, through the midst of his nonsense and coarse language, a philosopher who reflects, may trace the series of ideas with which the mad writer was impressed, and would readily account, without any

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other information, for the manner in which he had been led on to conceive his abominable project.

Damiens had been a servant in several reputable families ; he had served the Jesuits, some Janfenists, and some Magistrates. The luxury of our tables, the parade and form of serving, requires a greater number of footmen than our ancestors had ; it has therefore become necessary to increase, and to surround ourselves with them at our meals ; at every one of which there are as many servants as guests : our idleness has even suppressed, for some time, the prudent custom of sending them away at the dessert ; in those moments, when, the heat of wine provoking the unruliness of the tongue, we give way with confidence, either to the violent emotions of indignation excited in a strong mind, against the authors of the evils of the state, or to the poignant sallies of the malignant gaiety of wit ; for in this capital, where despotism, ever watchful against liberty, obliges us to maintain the greatest reserve in public places, we often choose to indemnify ourselves in the interior of our houses, by the most republican and most licentious conversation. Damiens had been in a situation to hear some of these conversations every day, either from one party or another. Guilty of theft, assassination, and poisoning, he was not one of those men who are susceptible of a religious or political enthusiasm, which often leads those astray whom it possesses, and which is equally productive of heroic virtues or atrocious crimes ; but he was of a gloomy and ardent disposition ; the ferment in other men's minds had insinuated itself into his, and his blood, violently agitated, had exalted his brain even to madness. As the complaints he incessantly hear'd,
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either from men of the church, or of the law, or from good citizens affected with these disputes, were always turned against a vicious Administration ; he was too ignorant to know, that a Sovereign, being nothing more than the representative of the State, cannot in fact have any distinct interest from it. He did not comprehend, that if, in the height of his imbecillity, extravagance, or ferocity, the Monarch should be guilty of those flagrant acts towards his people, that have marked the reign of a Caligula, a Nero, or a Tiberius, the nation alone having the right to judge him, would always view with horror the sacrilegious individual who should forestall their sentence. Too ignorant to distinguish that these complaints were directed only against the Ministry ; and thinking, that while the people reprobated a regicide, they would certainly extol a patriot, courageous enough, at the risque of his own life, to make an example of one of those famous criminals, who are too often unpunished ; the only object he could fix upon in his delirium was the King. Every thing therefore induces us to think, that, agreeable to his constant declarations, he had no accomplice ; but that Priests, magistrates, and others, by their violent declamations, had involuntarily inspired him with his horrid project : in a word, if Lewis the *well-beloved*, sensible of all the value of this title, and of all the obligations imposed upon him by it, had fulfilled them, his reign, more fortunate than that of Henry IV. would never have been marked with so terrible a catastrophe.

It may, perhaps, be asked, why Damiens, having no other motive for his parricide but the general discontent, appears, nevertheless, both in his letter to

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the King, and in his several interrogatories, to be entirely devoted to the Parliament? The reason of this is, that he had lived several years among Counsellors of the Parliament, or with persons attached to that assembly; and that the name of the Archbishop, against whom he breaks out so often, by dint of being repeated before him with marks of contempt and indignation, had left in his injured brain the deepest and most recent traces of the same kind.

There is a singular circumstance attending this attempt, which distinguishes it also from preceding acts of the kind; this is, that the perpetrator of it had no internal hatred against the King; from the first moment, and during the whole of the proceedings against him, he uniformly declared, that he never had an intention to kill, but only to wound the King, in order to excite compunction in his Majesty, and restore him to God and to his people. The consideration of the weapon he employed, and of the manner in which he used it, seems to justify him in this particular. It was a knife shutting with a spring, on one side of which was a long and pointed blade, made like a dagger, on the other, a penknife, about four inches in length. It is certain, that if Damiens had meant to strike a sure and fatal blow, he would have employed the first of these weapons.

On the very evening of the King's assassination, the Gentlemen of the Court of Inquests and Requests, who had resigned their offices, assembled at the house of the President Dubois, the eldest of their brethren, to offer their services, and testify their fidelity and zeal. They had employed the mediation of the First President, but without effect. The Dauphin, upon whom the King, in the first moment of his terror,

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ror, had devolved the care of affairs, was not sufficiently well inclined to these Gentlemen, to take upon himself to give them a favourable answer. He pretended, that he could do nothing without orders from his Majesty, who was not in a situation to be spoken to upon such matters. When the Monarch came to himself, he did not think more favourably of them. But at the same time, notwithstanding the suggestions of Damiens, and his boldness in prescribing to him to restore his Parliament, to support them, and more particularly to respect the more mutinous of their members, the list of which he sent to him †, the King was convinced, that no one of that august company had, directly or indirectly, contributed to the attempt upon his person; and therefore made no scruple to refer the trial of the criminal to the members of the Grand Chamber, who had not given in their resignations. The letters patent issued for this purpose, were drawn up in these remarkable terms.

“ You are informed of the outrage committed
“ against my person on the 5th instant, between five
“ and six o’clock in the evening, and you have given
“ me proofs, upon this occasion, of your fidelity and
“ affection for me. The sentiments of our religion,
“ and the feelings of our heart, would incline us to
“ mercy; but, considering that our life does not be-

† In the trial of this regicide, after his letter to the King, we find a note to his Majesty, in which he names Messieurs de Chal-lerange, Beze-de-Lys, de la Guillaumie, Clement, Lambert, the President Boulainvillers, and the President Du-Mazi, and where he adds these express words:

“ He must restore and support his Parliament, with a promise
“ to do nothing against the Gentlemen above-named, or the
“ Company.”

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“ long to us any more than to our subjects, and that
 “ they claim from our justice a striking mark of
 “ vengeance, to put our days in security, which we
 “ mean only to employ for their happiness:—by
 “ these presents we give up to you the information
 “ and judgment of the trial commenced by the
 “ Provost of the Hotel; and we confirm, as much as
 “ is necessary, the proceedings begun in the said Pro-
 “ vostship, authorizing you to cause your decisions,
 “ upon matters not of the competency of your
 “ Court, to be carried into execution, and forbidding
 “ all other Courts and jurisdictions to take cogni-
 “ zance of them.”

Accordingly, in the night from the 17th to the 18th of January, Damiens was transferred from the jail of the Body Guards, to the prison belonging to the Court of Justice, where a lodging was prepared for him in Montgomery's tower. There was a great deal of parade used in removing him, and the strictest precautions were taken. Settled forms have been long established, in such circumstances; and the enormity of the crime, together with the importance of making a striking example of the regicide, and of taking care of him so as he should not escape his punishment, and that time might be allowed to search out the smallest traces of the conspiracy, made all these attentions necessary, which otherwise would have been injurious to the Parisians. There was not one of them, certainly, who would not have made it his duty to watch the criminal. In the detailed account of his guard, of his removal, and of his arrival*, we find,

* Extract of a manuscript account, 18th of January 1757.—

“ The infamous assassin went from Versailles yesterday night at
 “ three

find, that the obscurity of the night had been chosen, as most proper to prevent any disturbance; that there was

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“ three quarters after ten. There were three coaches with four
 “ horses; the prisoner was in one of them, attended by one of
 “ the King’s surgeons, and two guards of the Provostship. In
 “ the two other coaches were guards of the Provostship, with a
 “ man taken up on account of the prisoner. These coaches set
 “ out, preceded by a detachment of the Marthalsea, bearing their
 “ arms in readiness, and other detachments scouring the avenues
 “ of the road through which they were to pass. Sixty grenadiers of
 “ the French Guards, commanded by four Lieutenants and eight
 “ Sub-Lieutenants, mounted upon the King’s horses, attended
 “ these coaches, and six serjeants armed with muskets marched at
 “ each coach-door. In this order they arrived at Seve, where
 “ another company of grenadiers took charge of the coaches, and
 “ the first sixty composed the rear-guard. The procession passed
 “ through the villages of Issi and Vaugirard, and entered Paris
 “ at the gate of Seve, of the Red Cross, of the street *du Four*,
 “ the street *de Buffi*, the street *Dauphine*, the *Pont Neuf*, the Key
 “ of the Goldsmiths, and the street *St. Louis*. At Seve and at
 “ Issi, a company of Swiss Guards lined the avenues; and at
 “ Vaugirard a company of grenadiers joined the escort. From
 “ the gate of Seve, and all along the way to the Court of Justice,
 “ several parties of French Guards were also disposed to secure
 “ the march. This morning at three o’clock, the three coaches en-
 “ tered the court *du Mai* of the *Palais*, attended by all the de-
 “ tachments above mentioned, which joined each other. The
 “ criminal was taken out at the gate of the prison, he was put in-
 “ to a kind of hammock, closed with a thick woollen covering,
 “ and was thus conveyed into the tower of Montgomery, where he
 “ is guarded by four serjeants, who stay in his room night and day.
 “ Eight other serjeants are in the room above. Underneath is a
 “ guard of ten French Guards, and upon the square of the
 “ court *du Mai*, at the gate of the prison, there is a body of seven-
 “ ty men of the French Guards, commanded by a Lieutenant, a
 “ Sub-Lieutenant, and two Ensigns, who are to be relieved once
 “ in four-and-twenty hours. The officers who guard the villain
 “ are not to see him, and no one is to enter his prison, without
 “ a ticket of admittance from the First President. So many pre-
 “ cautions

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was a prohibition to appear at the windows to see him pass, and orders to fire upon any one who should disobey. The bottom of the plot was not yet known, and, if there were one, a musket, dextrously fired at Damiens, might have buried the conspiracy in as great obscurity as that of Ravallac.

The criminal being once delivered up to prison, the measures taken to keep him there were not less strict. A detachment of ninety French guards, that is to say, the same as the King's guard, was appointed to this duty. Twelve Serjeants and three Officers constantly relieved each other in attending upon him: in a word, the expences which this villain cost the Government amounted to more than six hundred livres ‡ per day.

The whole city flattered themselves, when they saw the criminal in the hands of the Parliament, and that, to give greater authenticity to the trial, the Princes and Peers were ordered to attend, that they should soon learn surprizing matters. Curiosity was further excited, for some time, by strange and romantic stories that were told, and which gave full scope to the imagination. This had worked so strongly with

“ cautions have been taken to remove this criminal, that orders
“ have been given for no person to be on the road, and prohi-
“ bitions to look out at the windows, or doors, wherever he might
“ be seen, with orders to fire upon any one who should disobey.
“ The night has been chosen as the properest time for his re-
“ moval.

“ The King's Council are gone to Versailles only this morning
“ for the informations. The criminal has been questioned this
“ morning, by the First President and M. Molé, Mess. Severt and
“ Pasquier, Recorders. Mess. Portail and Lamoignon, Honorary
“ Presidents à Mortier, are to take their seat in the Grand Cham-
“ ber.”

‡ Twenty-five pounds,

some

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some people, that although the truth had come out in the strongest light from the trial, yet they refused to believe it, and persisted in pretending that the Magistrates, Peers, and Princes of the blood, had prevaricated so far in their functions, as to conceal from the public the knowledge of the other criminals; who, the more illustrious they might be, the more dangerous and criminal would it be to spare them.

The decree is of the 26th of March. The session began at eight o'clock in the morning, and did not close till half an hour after seven in the evening. Damiens was condemned to the same punishment as Ravallac; it was ordered, that he should previously be put to the torture, ordinary and extraordinary, for two hours, instead of half an hour, which is the usual custom.

The monster supported his character to the last; he was interrogated for five hours and a half, and answered with the same coolness, the same boldness, the same insolence, and, if we may venture to say it, the same courage, which he had hitherto shewn; blending irony, pleasantry, and almost mirth with his answers: he continued to declare, that he alone was guilty; that his criminal design had been conceived more than three years ago; that he had communicated it to no person, and, if he could even have supposed that his hat could have suspected any thing of the matter, he would have thrown it into the fire. With regard to the motives that had induced him to commit this horrid crime, he declared, that he had been hurt to see the royal authority called in question, and degraded by the disputes between the Clergy and the Parliament, and to see the little regard the King had paid to the remonstrances that

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had been addressed to him. He spoke to several of his Judges, whom he knew from having been in their service: he concluded with an eulogium upon the eloquence of M. Pasquier, the Recorder, who had often harangued him, and particularly at that moment, in presence of the assembly, to exhort him to tell the truth, and to declare his accomplices; and he desired all the Gentlemen present to acquaint his Majesty, that he could not do better than to make him his Chancellor.

At the torture, at the Hotel de Ville, and on the scaffold, Damiens said nothing more. His horrid punishment began at three quarters after four in the afternoon of the 28th of March. His right hand was burnt; he was afterwards torn with pincers, melted lead was poured into his wounds, and then he was drawn and quartered. He remained alive during all this time of an hour and a quarter, and supported every thing with intrepid firmness; shewing only such signs of pain as are inseparable from human nature, and cannot be avoided. For the last ceremony, a small scaffold was raised even with the traces of the horses, upon which he was fixed with his arms and legs hanging over. The executioner had bought six horses, for 3,600 livres*, in order, that if one of the four first should fail, he might immediately put another in it's place. Although these horses were extremely strong, yet after repeated trials they could not succeed, even with the assistance of the two fresh ones; they were obliged to have recourse to the assistance of the ax. His severed limbs were re-united to the trunk, a pile was then

* One hundred and fifty pounds.

lighted,

lighted, upon which they were placed, and when reduced to ashes, were scattered to the winds.

The same honours were rendered to Damians at his execution as during his confinement. The city and suburbs were filled with a regiment of guards under arms. The concourse of people was indeed so immense, that it was necessary to keep up a great deal of order.

We cannot give any account of the numbers that were in Paris upon that day. The inhabitants from the neighbouring villages, from the provinces, and even strangers, had flocked there as to the most brilliant spectacle. Not only the windows about the gallows, but even those of the garrets, were let at exorbitant prices; and the tops of the houses were covered with spectators. But the most striking circumstance was, the eagerness of the women—whose dispositions are reckoned so tender and compassionate—to see this sight, to dwell upon it, to support it in all its horror without shedding a tear, and without the slightest emotion; while almost all the men shuddered, and turned away their heads.

The singularity of this historical fact has induced us to dwell the longer upon it. In reality, if the assassination of Kings, so frequent under the reigns of Henry III. and Henry IV. was put a stop to under the sanguinary despotic sway of Richelieu—during the turbulent minority and civil wars of Lewis XIV.—towards the end of his reign, when fanaticism was carried to its highest pitch—and under the Regency, so fruitful in crimes of every sort, when Philip himself, accused of the most horrid enormities, seemed to provoke a too legitimate vengeance against his person—who would have expected to see this crime re-

vived

lighted,

1757. vived under Lewis the *well-beloved*? It seems to have been reserved for his reign, merely that no kind of event should be wanting in it.

We have been particularly desirous of entering into the details of this fact, in order to search the better into it, and to give our cotemporaries the satisfaction of learning, that if the annals of their age are ever destined to be stained with a regicide, this was the crime of a single person, which excited the deepest sorrow in every one else, and the opprobrium of which ought to fall upon him alone. By a barbarous custom, however, equally repugnant to philosophy, humanity and justice, the father, the wife, and the daughter of Damiens, though declared innocent, were banished the kingdom, with prohibitions to return upon pain of being hanged. To the grief of being related to such a monster, was added infamy, more horrible than death.

At the first news of the King's danger, in the general confusion that prevailed, all external as well as internal business had been suspended, but for an instant only, till the fate of his Majesty was ascertained, both for the present and the future. Then some consolation was blended with the grief of the French, who, considering the event as a salutary warning from Providence, flattered themselves that Lewis XV. would feel the importance of it, and repent. Madame de Pompadour being kept away from his sacred person, and the Dauphin being entered into the Council, seemed to be the forerunning circumstances of a fortunate change. But the Mistress soon resumed her power, and the young Prince did not the more obtain the confidence of his august father. The favourite was too deeply interested in depriving him of it, and in creating suspicions, mistrust, and jealousy

1757.

lousy in the heart of the King. Accordingly, affairs continued growing worse, and ill success depressing more and more, if we may venture the expression, the soul of the Monarch, he had no energy left but through his Mistress, or to have her will carried into execution.

. In vain did the Gentlemen of the Courts of Inquests and Requests, availing themselves of the circumstance to testify their affection and zeal to the Monarch, ask to resume their services; the arm of vengeance did not fall the less heavily upon them: sixteen of them were banished into distant, inconvenient, and unwholesome places; and when the Gentlemen of the Grand Chamber, who remained, expostulated upon this point, his Majesty was made to answer by an evasior, saying, that they were punished *for reasons personal to themselves*. The King was made to act the farce of affecting to consider them as having voluntarily resigned, to offer them a reimbursement, and force them to receive it. Then, by a conduct still more indecent, he was made to retract, to return the resignations, to re-establish the Parliament in their functions, to grant them all the explanations relative to the declarations registered at the Bed of Justice, and to recall the exiles in the most honourable and most flattering manner.

1 Feb.

Two Ministers—one of whom was the creature of Madame de Pompadour, who thinking her lost, at the time of the King's assassination, had supported her too feebly, and had given her pusillanimous advice, and the other, constantly her enemy, but respectful, and concealed, who had broken out in the same expectation, and testified an insulting joy—soon felt her repentment, in a manner proportioned to their

1757. their offence. This may readily be concluded, from the terms of their letter *de cachet*. In that addressed to Count d'Argenson, the King said drily to him: "I have no further need of your services; I order you to send me your resignation of the post of Secretary of the War department, and of every thing that concerns the business connected with it, and to retire upon your estate at Ormes."

His Majesty, on the contrary, made in some sort excuses to M. de Machault: "The present circumstances oblige me to require the seals from you, and the resignation of your office of Secretary of State for the Marine department. You may be always certain of my protection and esteem. If you have any favours to ask for your children, you may take the proper opportunity of doing it. It is fit that you should remain for some time at Arnouville. I preserve to you your pension of 30,000 livres*, and the honours of Keeper of the Seals."

They were both of them very favourably treated with respect to pecuniary rewards; for, as the post became a slippery one, their brethren prudently thought proper to encourage his Majesty to a generous munificence, that they might avail themselves of it in their turn, in case of a disgrace. This established a precedent, and the multitude of Ministers since expelled, when they were no longer capable of vexing the State by their extortions, thus became still an odious and intolerable burthen to it.

The Ministers we are speaking of, were less the objects of such a reproach, and their long and use-

* One thousand two hundred and fifty pounds.

ful

ful services deserved a proportionate recompence. They were undoubtedly the two best Ministers Lewis XV. ever had, and their dismissal was not the least injustice he committed at the instigation of the favourite. Count d'Argenson had at least the satisfaction to see himself succeeded by his nephew, M. de Paulmy, whom, since the year 1751, he had obtained for his assistant. The nation had reason to hope, that this pupil, trained up to the Administration, during six years, by so able a master, would have adopted his great principles and dispatch. He was not deficient in understanding; but, more devoted to literature than to politics, he was little of a man of business. As much addicted to pleasure as his uncle, he pursued it without nicety or discretion, and plunged himself into debauchery and intemperance. A slave to all the women, there was not one of them who could not flatter herself that she could make him do all the foolish things she chose. By laying himself open in this manner so readily, he was soon supplanted by a man, who had ever ambitioned the War department, without losing sight of it one single instant.

With regard to M. de Machault, it seemed as if they had chosen for him the most inadequate successor, in order to make him more regretted. As if the place of Comptroller General had not already been a sufficient burthen for M. de Moras, he was besides charged with the Marine department, and, a few days after, he was introduced to the Council, in quality of Minister. To complete the general indignation against this ridiculous Atlas of France, the Seals should likewise have been intrusted

- 1757.

to him. Lewis XV. kept them, and amused himself with them for several years. This childish mechanism pleased him, and was a true indication of the trifling turn of his mind. It is reckoned that there were eight hundred dispatches sealed in his presence. After the death of the Chancellor Seguier, in 1672, Lewis XIV. had executed the functions of Keeper of the Seals eleven times; but this had not prevented him from putting himself at the head of his armies, and conquering Holland; and he poured into the treasury all the profits of this lucrative employment; while Lewis XV. by a sordid avarice, kept them to himself, and increased his private treasure with them.

To justify the appointment of M. de Moras, it was said, that the navy being then very expensive, and the success of its operations depending chiefly upon dispatch, and being oftentimes much thwarted by natural causes, above human powers, nothing could be more judicious than to join this department to that of the Comptroller General; because then the money, which was the most essential circumstance in all movements, would be conveyed quickly and abundantly into the arsenals. Undoubtedly this might have been the case, had this rival of Colbert had an understanding equal to these two parts of Administration; and if, being a bad Minister of finance, he had not been a worse Minister of the navy. Fortunately, the projects for the war in 1757 being already settled, and partly executed, by M. de Machault, concealed his incapacity in the beginning.

The great art of M. de Machault, since the commencement of the war, had been, with an inferior navy,

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navy, to calculate all the movements so well, and with so much precision, that while he conveyed sufficient succours to every part, he had at the same time been in a condition to attack. But the English having considerably extended their navy, we should have been obliged to remain upon the defensive in the course of this year, except with the squadron of M. de Kerfaint, commissioned to execute a *coup de main* upon the coast of Guinea, before he repaired to the American islands; and who accordingly had set out at the end of November 1756 *, with three vessels and three frigates only. This Captain had surprised the enemy in a defenceless state in Africa, had taken a fort from them, ravaged their settlements, taken several bands of negroes, and had afterwards repaired to Martinico, where he had succeeded M. d'Aubigny, and provided for the safety of the Windward islands.

M. de Beaufremont had set out in the beginning

* This squadron consisted of the following ships:

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Captains, M.</i>
<i>L'Intépide,</i>	— 74	De Kerfaint, Captain.
<i>L'Opiniâtre,</i>	— 60	Moësslin, ditto.
<i>Le Saint Michel,</i>	— 60	Caumont, ditto.

F R I G A T E S.

<i>L'Améthiste,</i>	— 30	d'Herlie, Lieutenant.
<i>La Licorne,</i>	— 30	Dugué Lambert, ditto.

C O R V E T T E.

<i>La Calypso,</i>	— 12	De Cours Lusagnet, 2d Lieutenant.
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1757. of February, for St. Domingo*, under pretence of conveying there a General Officer, some troops, and provisions; but his further and secret commission was to go to Louisbourg. It was known that the English proposed to collect all their efforts against this place, in order to indemnify themselves for their ill success upon land in North America; that their plan of operations—founded upon the maxim, that whoever is master of the sea, will soon be so of the continent—was, after having seized upon this key of the river St. Lawrence, to lay siege to Quebec, which, in falling, would make the French lose all the benefit of their success. This was a stroke it was necessary to parry: preparations were accordingly made; but the English seeing only a squadron of nine ships, under the command of M. Dubois de la Mothe, thought it sufficient to send fifteen. Admiral Holbourne, to whom this important commission had been intrusted, was exceedingly surprized, when he reckoned eighteen ships of the line in the road of Louisbourg. Beside the two divisions we have been

* His squadron consisted of the following ships:

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Captains M. M.</i>
<i>Le Tonnant,</i> —	80	{ The Chevalier de Beaufremont, Commodore
<i>Le Défenseur,</i> —	74	
<i>Le Diadème,</i> —	74	de Blenac, Captain
<i>L'Inflexible,</i> —	74	Rozilly, ditto
<i>L'Inflexible,</i> —	64	Tilly, ditto
<i>L'Eveille,</i> —	64	Meruille, ditto.

FRIGATES.

<i>La Bruus,</i> —	30	Prevalais, Captain
<i>La Sauvage,</i> —	30	Saint-Victoret, Lieutenant.

N. B. *The Scepter*, of 74 guns, commanded by M. Claveau, Port Lieutenant, was sent afterwards with provisions for this Squadron.

speaking

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speaking of *, there was a third, which, sailing from Toulon in March, notwithstanding the obstacles it had met with, had arrived at this colony in time, and had increased the squadron with four ships commanded by M. du Revest †. The junction of all these forces, coming from such different places to one single point of rendezvous, must necessarily have deceived the foresight of the British Council; they hastened to send a reinforcement to Holbourne; it was too late, the expedition had failed; and this dispatch only served to expose a greater number of forces to the fury of the elements. The British Admiral had been cruising for some days before Louisbourg, braving Count Dubois de la Mothe, and challenging him to fight, when on the 24th of September there arose so terrible a hurricane, that a Captain in the squadron, who had been round the

* The squadron of M. Dubois de la Mothe, consisted of the following ships:

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Captains M. M.</i>
<i>Le Formidable</i>	80	{ Dubois de la Mothe, Lieutenant General
<i>Le Duc de Bourgogne</i>	80	
<i>Le Héros</i>	74	d'Aubigny, Commodore
<i>Le Glorieux</i>	74	de Chateloyer, Captain
<i>Le Dauphin Royal</i>	70	de Chavagnac, ditto
<i>Le Superbe</i>	70	Durrubie, ditto
<i>Le Bizarre</i>	64	the Marquis of Choiseul, ditto
<i>Le Belliqueux</i>	64	de Montalais, ditto
<i>Le Celebre</i>	64	de la Jonquiere, ditto
		the Chevalier de Tourville, ditto

FRIGATES.

<i>La Fleur de Lys</i>	30	the Chevalier Dubois, Lieut.
<i>L'Hermione</i>	24	— — — — —

† These ships were *L'Hector*, of 74 guns, commanded by M. du Revest; the *Vaillant* and *l'Alcide*, of 64; and *Le Fier*, of 50. There were also some frigates.

1757. world with Lord Anson, declared, the famous blast of wind with which they had been battered in doubling Cape Horn was nothing in comparison to it. It lasted fourteen hours. The most skillful management was not able to resist it; it was necessary that the seamen should let themselves go to its fury; and if the weather had not suddenly changed, as by miracle, all the English vessels would have been shattered against the rocks of that same island, which they meant to conquer. Of eighteen ships, the least of which mounted 60 guns, there were only five that were not damaged. The *Tilbury* was entirely lost, and the twelve others more or less dismasted*. Admiral Holbourne could not reach the port of Halifax till the 5th of October. If in this interval the Commandant of the French Squadron had come out, when the wind became favourable, he would have completed the disaster of the enemy, and carried terror and desolation into their colonies; he might, perhaps, have made them lose, during the rest of the war, the hope of executing their project, and the idea of returning to it.

M. Dubois de la Mothe, who had served with du Gué Trouin, and who would have been his rival, if he had had the same opportunities of signalizing himself, is described to us by his contemporaries, as announcing in his deportment, his manner, and his discourse, a man of a superior cast, reserved, and appearing always busied about great matters, possessed with the demon of avarice, and devoured with am-

* We find a circumstantial detail of the deplorable state of each of these vessels in *Lettre XXXVII. of the present political state of England.*

bition. These two faults contributed, by a rare effect, to make him a better servant to the King; the allurements of riches, or the thirst of honours, would have urged him to undertake impossibilities. Extreme temperance made him enjoy, in an advanced age, a perfect state of health, and a clear head, capable of digesting the most extensive projects. The conduct of the Canada expedition ought not to have been given to an officer almost fourscore, enjoying an income of 40,000 livres *, who hazarded his former reputation, and who had loudly disapproved of all the operations proposed for this campaign. He was promised to be made Lieutenant-General, and he flew there with all the impetuosity of his earliest youth. In doing him this justice, we are forced to acknowledge, that upon the present occasion he did not support his reputation. At his time of life, an advance of two years might produce a great change in his natural and moral character; he was no longer the same man. Instead of taking advantage at the instant of the terror and confusion of the enemy, he held a council, when he should have acted. Deliberations, in such a situation, are always timid. The Squadron, though in harbour, had suffered a little from the gust of wind;—there were some sick on board the fleet;—another hurricane might come on;—and it was an essential matter to return to Europe:—so that it was thought best to prepare for the departure. M. Dubois de la Mothe had it so much at heart to re-enter safe and sound into Brest, that the *Diadème*, at the place they were to land in France, having fallen in with the *Dublin*,

* Upwards of one thousand six hundred pounds.

1757. of 80 guns, and being at the eve of taking her, after an engagement of two hours, was obliged to quit her, on account of a signal which he had made for collecting. He landed four thousand sick, that is to say, one third part of his squadron. This was his last expedition, and it would have been to be wished, for his fame, that he had given up the command sooner. As for the rest, he had fulfilled the essential part of his commission*, the object of which was to save Canada and Cape Breton; but, as he acted merely in a passive manner, and that the English had committed two capital faults, in having set out too late, and with forces too inferior, though they were conquered by the tempest, yet they were not by the French. The bad news the English received from the continent, where the brave Montcalm took Fort St. George from them†, confirmed them in their plan of a maritime invasion. Their perseverance became more obstinate;—they deferred to the next year the same expedition, for which they took better measures. Those of France, on the contrary, had no longer the same vigour; and the genius of a *Moras* could not prevail against that of a *Pitt*.

The retreat of Mr. Pitt from the Ministry for a few months, had not been one of the least causes of the safety of Louisbourg; so that this formidable enemy, who was the author of the project, if he had remained in office, would have hastened the expe-

* As we cannot here give a detail of several curious particulars of this campaign, we refer to a manuscript journal of it in the Appendix, N° VIII.

† We also refer to a curious manuscript memorial which we have upon this expedition, to the Appendix, N° IX.

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dition by his activity, and prevented the obstacles to it by his foresight. He did not, however, succeed in one that was better concerted : the point was, to take possession of Rochefort, a royal port of importance, particularly necessary for the victualing of the colonies, and for ship-building; by seizing which, the English would have made themselves masters of the naval forces in that harbour, which were then rather considerable. They would have plundered and destroyed the magazines, the arsenals, and the founderies; they would have burnt or blown up what they could not carry away with them, the docks, the forms*, the work-shops, the buildings of every kind, and, by clogging up the river Charente, they would, perhaps, have destroyed this port, in such a manner that it could not have been restored again, at least not without an enormous expence. The execution of this project was not difficult—the most favourable instant had been chosen, either to sail up the river and force the entrance of the harbour, defended only by two ships of the line, or to land forces between this city and la Rochelle, where there were no troops to oppose them. The high tides were favourable to either of these enterprizes, and Rochefort, having no fortifications, and no troops to defend it, waited only for the conqueror, to surrender. It was even impossible to send a sufficient number of troops, except from those which were in Paris, the

* By *Forms*, are meant vast inclosures digged upon a level with the bed of the river, and covered with stone, for the construction or refitting of ships. They are shut up by flood-gates, which keep the water out, and which are opened, when the ship is to be floated, for the purpose of launching her into the Charente.

nearest

1757.

nearest place where there were any; that is, from the distance of about one hundred and thirty leagues. It is certain, that with the greatest dispatch, the first division could not have reached the place before the 12th of October, and that the enemy would have had time enough to do all the mischief they had pleased, and to ravage and lay under contribution all the neighbouring provinces, before an army could have been collected capable of beating or repulsing them.

The instructions necessary for this secret expedition, for so it was called, had been given by men of the profession, worthy of confidence, whose reports were made from ocular demonstration. Captain Clerke had furnished an accurate description of the plan and city of Rochefort, which he had seen and examined in 1754 at his leisure, and even with leave of the Commandant. The conclusion was, that there was nothing so easy as to insult the place, and to carry it by a sudden assault, or rather, that it was not in a condition to support such an attack. It could not be doubted but that the place was still as much neglected, and the enemy had reason to entertain the greatest security upon this point.

A French sailor, named Thierry, of the Protestant religion, who had been upwards of twenty years a pilot on the coast of France, and had served in that capacity on board several of the King's ships, had confirmed the possibility of a *coup de main* upon the island of Aix, Fouras, and Rochefort. He had given instructions with regard to the method of entering and coming out of the road, and of going up the river as far as the point of Vergeroux, a good way further up than the mouth; he had represented the
landing

landing as safe and easy at the distance of two leagues only from the city, and the passage from thence to Rochefort, as being attended with no obstacle either of nature or art.

The Government must necessarily have had the greater confidence in the accounts of these two persons, as the one, being an Englishman and an engineer, could have no motive to deceive, and had the talents necessary to form a proper judgment upon what he had seen; and as the other, though at first a more suspicious person, had undergone a long and serious examination during two hours consecutively, and had answered every question with a readiness and presence of mind which had astonished and convinced the Ministry.

This first point being amply discussed in the Council of his Britannic Majesty, another question, of no less importance, had been canvassed: this was the state of the internal forces of France, the number of it's troops, and the places in which they were disposed. According to a memorial produced from the office of Lord Holderness, the accuracy of which was ascertained, the present troops of France were computed at two hundred thousand men, upon the footing of the new augmentations; and by calculating those which composed our armies, those sent into our colonies, and into India, and deducting the garrisons of Minorca, and of the frontier towns, it was concluded that there were no more than ten thousand troops upon the coast, from St. Valéry to Bourdeaux. From this calculation it was determined that the number of troops embarked should be equal, in case it should happen that the French troops, as by a miracle, should be collected from an immense extent, for

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for the defence of one single point. The command of the expedition was given to General Mordaunt, a Nobleman of the first rank. It had been judged less essential to choose an experienced Commander, than a young man, having that temerity belonging to his age, the quality the most proper for the *coup de main* in question. The fleet, consisting of upwards of four-score sail, sixteen of which were line of battle ships, was under the direction of three distinguished Admirals, Knowles, Broderic, and Hawke; the last of whom had the command in Chief of this naval expedition.

The fleet, well provided with every necessary, and chiefly of a considerable train of artillery, had set sail on the 7th of September, and, though much delayed by contrary winds, had yet arrived time enough for the success of the expedition; since on the 20th, when it made its appearance, no preparation had been made for defence; no more than three hundred regulars were assembled at Fouras, and the batteries were not yet mounted. The island of Aix, the most formidable post we had to oppose to the enemy, was attacked, and taken in less than three quarters of an hour. An attempt so successful, ought to have encouraged them; they might have judged, by the facility of this conquest, of the negligence with which matters had been conducted, and of the confusion, disorder, and terror that prevailed upon the coast, and in the harbour. We were so fully convinced of the inutility of the efforts we could make, that we thought less of repulsing them, than of attending to the best mode of surrendering. M. de Rhuis, at the head of the administration of the port, had not only sent away all the papers of the Intendant's office, into the inland

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inland countries, but also his plate and effects of every kind. The Count de Goefbriant, the Commandant, had imitated his example, and both of them had concealed their pusillanimity so little, that it had communicated itself to all the orders of the citizens. The carriages and workmen in the port, instead of being engaged in succouring and defending the place, were employed in this shameful service.

The excess of their timidity manifested itself particularly on the night of the 25th. It was then just high water, and the wind and weather were favourable;—the fleet had made an evolution, which announced a design of landing; the shore was remarkably convenient for this purpose; there were no batteries on the spot called *le Platin d'Angoulin*, and too few troops, not to be repulsed on the first attack, or swept by the enemy's artillery; the way was open, and we had no hopes of resistance:—the keepers of the magazines, fixed at their post in the harbour, had orders to give up the keys of them to the first English officer they should see. The Commandant, and the Intendant of the navy, had respectively assembled their troops at their houses, in expectation of the event, to secure themselves from the first outrages of an insolent conqueror, or to be included advantageously in the articles of a capitulation. Du Mesnil, the Captain of the port, went now and then upon the balcony of the Intendant's house, to observe what was passing upon the road; it was so beautiful a moon-shine, that all the objects could be distinguished with a glass. A profound silence prevailed, but fear made them sometimes suppose that they heard a noise, or some motions on board the English

1757. English ships; then the terror was redoubled: at length, the hour of the tide being past, they were clear of every thing but the humiliation of the scene: an indelible stain to the navy of this department. It was on their ships, on the ramparts, or with their arms in their hands, that they should have entered into parley, and not in the obscure inclosure of a house.

The alarms were continued on the 26th, 27th, and 28th, while high-water lasted; but they diminished gradually, and the French had had time to collect a few troops, and to raise some intrenchments.

At length, on the 1st of October, this formidable fleet disappeared, without having done any thing more than conquer a rock, throw a few useless bombs into Fouras, and carry off a few barges, and a boat, in which were some ladies from la Rochelle, whom the conquerors very politely sent back. We could not conceive that they had disappeared in this manner, without having made the slightest effort to land. The inhabitants of la Rochelle, and of Rochefort, in their surprize, went upon this famous *Platin*, congratulating and embracing each other for joy, while they reflected to how trifling a circumstance they owed their safety. A tolerable good artifice of M. de Langeron, Lieutenant-General Commandant at Fouras, had contributed to deceive the enemy. To make his little troop appear more considerable to them, he caused his soldiers to pass in review now-and-then, and to return with their coats inside out, so as to give an idea of fresh troops under another uniform. Some emissaries, who were induced to let themselves

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be taken on purpose, kept up this idea among the English; and from their report afterwards, in conformity to the event, this contrivance, which was laughed at upon land as a childish one, had succeeded.

At London, that proud people—who always condemn their Generals, when their enterprizes are not attended with success—was incensed with a retreat, too similar to that from Port l'Orient. It might have been imagined, that the example of what had passed upon that occasion, would have inspired the Generals of the present expedition with greater confidence; and this consideration rendered them more culpable. There was a court-martial appointed to try them; it was expected, that the catastrophe of Admiral Byng would be renewed; but though in reality more culpable than he, the law acquitted them, inasmuch as their orders were conditional, and that to condemn them, the proceedings must have been founded upon a number of facts, which must have been inquired into in France: an absurd and impracticable idea †.

India was the only part of the world in which the English had any remarkable success this year: the intelligence they received from thence, afforded them some little consolation for their ill success, in Canada, and in Europe. They had the less reason to expect this, as, with moderate and weakened forces, they had a very troublesome war to sustain against the Soubah of Bengal. If the French, still

† The necessary informations might have been particularly taken from a manuscript account, communicated to us by an eye-witness, and which we shall give in the Appendix, N^o X.

1757. animated with the conquering genius of Dupleix, had joined their interest to those of the natives of the country, they would undoubtedly have derived a great advantage from it, and, with the reinforcements sent from Europe, might have maintained themselves with glory in Indostan. But on this occasion, too faithful to the neutrality agreed upon respecting the borders of the Ganges, they gave their enemies time to breathe, and to surprize them.
- 23 March. Chandernagor fell into their hands, and this loss turned the scale entirely in favour of the English.

At the time of the rupture between the two Crowns, the Keeper of the Seals had caused the Syndics and Directors of the India Company to be assembled, in order that they might discuss among themselves, whether it were more expedient to suspend or to continue the trade. They readily perceived, from the aspiring views of this Minister, that he was inclined to have it continued, and this was a sufficient reason for those Gentlemen to comply with his ideas, upon a promise from the part of M. de Machault, that he would protect the navy of the proprietors with the whole weight of the King's maritime forces. Accordingly, two General Officers had been chosen, and commissioned to command this squadron and the troops; one was M. d'Aché, and the other Count Lally. These two men, promoted by the spirit of intrigue, rather than by the will of the Minister, were the most improper for this expedition. The first, having a great deal of ambition, was not deficient in talents and courage, but having no particular inducement for this long, distant, and difficult commission, had accepted the post with no other view than to hasten

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hasten his promotion to the flag. He was a very proud man; and, seeing with reluctance that he was appointed only to command merchants, was already disgusted before he set out. Besides, he was unfortunate, all his expeditions having been marked by some disaster. This one began in the same inauspicious manner. He was obliged to bring to, after having set sail. Some accidental events happened in his squadron. He had then two of the King's ships joined to his own, which gave at least some importance to his command; their destination was changed, so that, remaining with only some ships of the India Company, he thought his dignity called in question. Some turbulent persons who governed him, and others interested in giving him bad advice, applauded much the step which his pride dictated, to give in his resignation. In 1748, he had thus resigned the command of the *Alcide*, upon the frivolous pretence that the ship was unable to keep the sea; while M. de Kerfaint, who succeeded him, had successfully executed his commission. This fault would have deprived him of all hopes of preferment, if Count Mareschal had remained at the head of the marine department. The second, would have ruined him under M. de Machault; but M. de Moras was under the controul of the officers. This officer, having repented of his caprice, and having sent a second messenger to retract, the Minister still determined the King to thank him for this mark of zeal, and he set sail. A secret misunderstanding between the Captains of the Company and the Commander, were not less the result of this unfortunate beginning. The Captains having no doubt of the

3 May.

1757. contempt which he had for them, returned it to him, and grounded it, not upon puerile motives of vanity, as M. d'Aché had done, but upon his real incapacity for the expedition. We shall find hereafter, that this motive was unfortunately but too well founded. From a tolerably good private officer, which he had been, he became a bad Commodore.

With respect to M. de Lally, the desire of obtaining the red riband, and the thirst of gold, had led him to another hemisphere, rather than his duty or the love of his country. His companions were so well acquainted with his turn for rapine and oppression, that they advised him not to go, prefaging to him a sinister end. Being of a hasty, hard, and even ferocious disposition, he soon quarrelled with M. d'Aché, whose manners were gentle, and who was full of attention and politeness in society. Besides, M. de Lally could not but displease at Pondicherry, where he came to succeed the fortunate Bussy, the confidant, and the right-hand man of Dupleix; he, who having been acquainted with his plans, knew best how to make them succeed. He might have expected, that all the servants of the Company, and especially the military men, would be leagued against him, exasperated as they were, that an officer of the King's forces, entirely unacquainted with this peculiar kind of war, should set himself up to take from them the honours and rewards, which they thought they had deserved by their talents and their long-continued labours. It was much worse, when, to these personal pretensions, the new Brigadier joined the inflexibility of command, the folly of his proceedings, the in-

3

humanity

humanity and barbarity of treatment.—But let us not previously excite the indignation of the reader, by drawing the picture of a monster, who will shew himself too well by his actions, when the time comes to bring him forward upon the scene.

Let us now turn our view to the land-war, which was commencing, and was not less remarkable than that upon sea, by the interesting nature, the grandeur, and singularity of events.

We left the King of Prussia in Saxony, where he continued to live at the expence of that unfortunate country. All the informations received from thence, made people shudder at the horrid vexations experienced there from the conquering Monarch, from his General Officers, his troops, and the meanest of his soldiers. He not only burthened the villages with enormous contributions, both with respect to men and money, but he seemed inclined to compel all the inhabitants to desert, and to migrate into his neighbouring dominions, by forbidding the lands to be sown. The circumstance that aggravated the misfortunes of Saxony, was, the friendly declarations he preserved in his manifestos, so evidently contradicted by his actions; although he protested, that he had only entered that kingdom as it's guardian, and staid there only as it's protector. It was reported, that, the electoral Prince having written to him in favour of a hamlet unable to furnish the number of men required by him; he answered; that he must not meddle with affairs that did not concern him.

In order to remove troublesome witnesses of his actions, he had carried his boldness so far, as to

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have it insinuated to the foreign Ministers residing at Dresden, that they should go to the King of Poland at Warsaw; but they answered, that they had no advice nor orders to receive upon that head, but from their own Courts.

So many oppressions intitled the other Powers to vent their abuse against him in their public acts; and accordingly, they reproached his Majesty in the most violent terms. France told him, *that by such a conduct, he sufficiently manifested, that he respected neither human nor divine laws* *. The Empress of Russia declared to the Saxon Minister residing at her Court, that she meditated a revenge, not only proportioned to the damages done to the electorate, *but to the enormity of this rash infringement of peace, on the part of the King of Prussia*. The Baron de Polikau, Minister from Saxony at the General Diet of the Empire, in the memorial written in answer to that of his Prussian Majesty, recapitulating the misfortunes of his country, exclaimed: *these are facts so well attested, that if men should be silent, even the stones would speak*. The Empress Queen, entering into still greater details, described the well-known turbulent disposition of this Prince, his underhand intrigues in foreign Courts, his continual infractions of treaties, violated as soon as they were signed, and his alternate aggressions against the weakest of his neighbours. She accused him, of being guided by no rule of conduct, but that of his own interest; of acknow-

* See the circular letter of the Court of France, to all it's Ministers in foreign Courts, in the month of September 1756.

ledging

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ledging no right, but that of the strongest; and of adopting no measures, but such as were dictated by violence or perfidy, according as they served his turn †. The Emperor at length cited him to the tribunal of the Empire; and had released, by a decree, all the subjects of that Prince from their oath of allegiance to him.

These invectives, threats, and decrees, did not intimidate Frederic; and, while an assassination was attempted on the King of France, mild as he was, and in the midst of a nation who idolize their Sovereign, the King of Prussia was seen in the heart of an enemy's country, though anathematized by the Chief of the Empire, denounced to the nations as the disturber of the tranquillity of Europe, and as the scourge of mankind, yet walking alone, discarding every attendance, or escort, in obscurity, in the depth of night; while, among such a number of oppressed persons, one single faithful subject was not excited to claim his liberty and avenge his Sovereign. But if his great soul was superior to every vulgar terror, yet was he not undismayed at a league which was daily increasing to crush him.

The Diet of Ratisbon decreed by a *Conclusum*, that the several States of the Empire should concur with all their might in the re-establishment of public tranquillity—in the restoration of the King of Poland to his hereditary dominions, with the most complete indemnity—and in procuring to the Empress, as Queen and Electress of Bohemia, the sa-

17 Jan.

† See the answer of the Empress Queen, to the Motives of the King of Prussia.

1757. tisfaction that was due to her: for these purposes, each Circle were to furnish three times more than their ordinary contingent, and to hold their troops in readiness to march to the relief of the oppressed.

Count d'Affry, Minister Plenipotentiary from France at the Hague, acquainted the States General, that his master, as guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, and in consequence of the new one of Versailles, proposed to assemble a body of troops upon the Lower Rhine, about Dusseldorp, for the advantage of his allies, oppressed by the King of Prussia; but that his forces, far from attempting any thing that could give any alarm to their High Mightinesses, would be employed in their defence, if they should be molested on account of the neutrality they had engaged in. To which the States General answered by repeated assurances that they would keep their word.

1 March.

The Czarina, impelled by the Marquis de l'Hopital, Ambassador Extraordinary from Lewis XV. to her Court, to hasten the succours stipulated in her accession to the treaty of Versailles, demanded of the King of Poland a passage for her troops; and, in defiance of the representations of the King of Prussia, and even of his requisition of auxiliary troops, which he pretended to have a right to claim, the Russians crossed the country, to the number of fourscore thousand regular troops, and prepared to enter upon Ducal Prussia.

The King of Sweden declared, that, in quality of guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, he could not avoid marching his troops into the King of Prussia's dominions, and into the division of the Dutchy of anterior Pomerania, to avenge the violated

lated constitution of the Empire—to compel that Prince to give the satisfactions required—and to restore the peace of Germany *.

In a word, the King of Denmark, notwithstanding the conformity of his religion to that of the King of Prussia—who declared himself the supporter of the Protestant faith, which it was meant to destroy, and notwithstanding his consanguinity with the King of Great Britain—assured Lewis XV. by his Minister in France, that he would observe the treaties of union and neutrality, and that he would not furnish any troops to his Prussian Majesty in the present contest.

When we see so many Powers united against a meer Elector of Brandenburg, notwithstanding the knowledge we have of his military and political talents, there was no one who did not foretel a fatal destiny for him at the end of the campaign—who did not think that he had deceived himself with regard to his own powers, and to the assistance he had flattered himself with from his allies. So low was his credit then reduced, that, endeavouring to negotiate at Amsterdam a loan of one hundred thousand crowns †, he failed in the attempt. The subsidies he expected from England did not come in, because George II. had himself a great deal of difficulty in procuring from his Parliament the necessary supplies for the support of his Hanoverian dominions, threatened by the French. We must acknowledge, that Frederic had no reason to repent of his invasion in Saxony: he was exerting

* See the manifesto of the Swedish General.

† Twelve thousand five hundred pounds.

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every effort to prevent his own ruin, which, at the sight of enemies so numerous and so powerful, he himself considered as unavoidable—he was endeavouring to excite his secret partizans in the Diet of the Empire, to open negotiations for peace, his only resource; and the King of England, although he had not reaped the advantage made by that Prince's diversion in his favour, espoused his cause from motives of gratitude. The animosity was too strong, and the mediators too insufficient. Already had the French deprived him of his dominions in Westphalia; and instead of keeping upon the defensive, he continued to attack. Four bodies of his troops entered Bohemia at once, in four different places: he himself gained the battle of Prague: he invested the city, and laid siege to it. A conquest of this kind, by making him master of all Bohemia, might open the whole country of Germany to him. This capital, closely pressed, had already no more than a few days provisions: it had been the more speedily reduced to famine, as five-and-thirty thousand men of the beaten army had retired into it; it was bombarded without intermission, and canonaded with red-hot balls. Too much precipitation made the conquering Monarch lose all the advantage of his victory, and brought him again to the brink of ruin.

6 May.

Marshal Daun, at the head of near forty thousand men, was coming up to it's relief; the King of Prussia, presuming too much upon his strength, and upon the discouragement prevailing among the Austrians, thought he had nothing to do but to shew himself; in order to put them to flight. He marched out of his camp with the chief part of his army, and advanced

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vanced to the Marshal, who was intrenched upon the brow of a hill; by which manœuvre he gave the enemy every advantage of which he deprived himself. His troops went up seven times to the charge, and were as often repulsed and overthrown. At length, he was obliged to leave the field of battle, with the loss of twelve thousand men; the communication with Prague was opened again—he was forced to raise the siege, and to evacuate all Bohemia. It was upon this occasion that he appeared more great than ever; by making a noble avowal of his rashness: “I have no reason to complain of the “bravery of my troops,” he wrote to one of his confidants, “nor of the inexperience of my officers; “I have committed the fault myself, and I hope to “repair it.”

18 June.

Unfortunately, the French—who had amused themselves with writing the most insulting songs upon him—who had described him as reduced to the lowest extremity, and as having no resource left but in his rage, and in a glorious death—were the first to furnish the occasion of renewing the lustre of his glory, by their shameful defeat at Rosbach. The General's letter to the King, upon this occasion, expresses, better than any thing we could add, the disaster and opprobrium of this day. The Prince of Soubise's letter was contained in the following terms:

5 Nov.

“I write to your Majesty in the excess of my despair: the defeat of your army is complete. I cannot tell you how many of your officers have been “killed, are taken, or missing ——”

This letter—which perhaps furnishes the first instance of a Courtier's telling the plain truth upon such an occasion, and without alledging any excuse; and

1757. and the modesty which the Prince of Soubise afterwards shewed, in resigning the command, and serving in the quality of Lieutenant General under Marshal Richelieu—atoned, in the opinion of many persons, for his weakness, in having taken upon himself an employment for which he was unfit. A good citizen and a brave soldier, he discovered too late, that he was a bad General. It is necessary to add, at least as his adherents give out, that he had been forced by the Prince of Saxe Hildbourgshausen, who commanded the army of the Circles, to attack, and that all the misfortune of the day was to be attributed to this General of the Empire, since our troops, being no more than auxiliaries in that affair, the French Commander was obliged to pay a deference to his orders, or at least to his advice.

However this may be, the defeat was so much the more disgraceful, as the combined army was stronger by two thirds than that of the King of Prussia; that we were the dupes of a feint made by that Monarch, who, seeming to retreat, led us into a snare, which not only rendered our superiority of numbers useless, but also, by throwing us into a most disadvantageous position, left us exposed, almost defenceless, to the whole fire of his artillery. If the battle was not so bloody as we had reason to fear, it was owing to the good manœuvres of the Duke de Broglie and the Count de St. Germain. M. de Soubise had also the good sense to submit to their advice, and to be guided by them.

As this is the only time in this war that Frederic had any opportunity of engaging with the French, and as the history of this Prince makes no part of our plan, we shall now lose sight of him, leaving him

to

to struggle several years with alternate good and bad fortune, against the Swedes, the Russians, and the Austrians, and extricating himself at last from his critical situation, by a general peace. We only wish, to complete his triumph, that his glory had not been tarnished by a multitude of vexations and cruelties in Saxony, which his enemies have undoubtedly exaggerated, and which his desperate situation, perhaps, rendered necessary, but which humanity must ever deplore.

The loss of the battle of Rosbach was attended with the most fatal consequences to the French, it deprived them of all the benefit of the success of the campaign in Westphalia, and became the cause of an unprecedented revolution, which rendered this unfortunate country again the theatre of the calamities of war.

Since the month of March, Marshal d'Estrées had signed a convention at Vienna, by which the King of France obliged himself to make his army cross the Weser, in order to enter the electorate of Hanover. The period for this was fixed on the 10th of July, or sooner; for, in the plan of the campaign presented to the King, this General had foreseen the difficulties that might retard the event, and this foresight had not been imputed to him as a crime. The army having assembled at Wesel, he had taken the command on the 27th of April. He was opposed by the Duke of Cumberland, famous since the battle of Fontenoi: he had perplexed this Prince by different marches and countermarches; he had made him apprehensive of being surrounded in his camp at Bielefeld, and had forced him to abandon it, and to re-pass the Weser in order to cover the electorate.

This

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This slow and methodical proceeding did not satisfy the impatience of the Parisians, and murmurs were universally excited against the Marshal. It was not considered, whether he could have acted in a different manner, and whether the obstacles he met with upon the article of subsistence were not the cause of his delay. It was imagined, that nothing was to resist the impetuosity of the French; and experience had shewn, that when once the first ardour of our troops was cooled, it was to be feared that they might grow disgusted: this last circumstance gave some plausibility to the alarms of sensible persons, who, without throwing any positive blame upon the General, would willingly have seen him give some decisive stroke. At length the opportunity offered itself, and the battle of Hastenbeck reconciled him to the people. But this was no longer of any use to him. The enemies of M. d'Estrées, who were partly the authors of the complaints—who fomented and increased them—had caballed in such a manner at Court, that Marshal Richelieu had been appointed. This intelligence was made known, exactly at the time that the news of the victory arrived. The conversations were then changed in companies, where the victory was talked of with the warmest interest. The Marshal was pitied, justified, and regretted; people were ashamed of having doubted his military talents; it was wished that the Court would retract it's orders, and every one was delighted, that, before he retired, he had at least this glorious action to oppose to his depreciators; vows were made that his return might be marked by some other fortunate event, and that he might make his appearance crowned with fresh laurels.

To

To these compassionate feelings for the disgrace of the General, indignation was soon added, when several letters from the army mentioned, that the day of the battle of Hastenbeck ought to have been the last of the Hanoverian army, if every one had done his duty; that they would all have been unavoidably made prisoners of war, according to the combination of the different and corresponding attacks; and that this fine plan had failed of success, merely from the jealousy of the General officers. Among others, the Count de Maillebois, Quartermaster General of the army, was named, in whom Marshal d'Estrees, knowing his great capacity, had placed an unreserved confidence. He was accused of an enormous perfidy, so much as to have abused his confidence, to have sent him a false intelligence, and to have ordered of himself dispositions capable of putting a stop to the success of his Majesty's arms. These complaints were the ground of a court-martial, upon which the sentiments of the Court and the city were divided during the winter. There was, however, but one cry on the side of the patriots, requiring the head of the traitor—whose guilt was so much the greater, as his talents were more extraordinary, and as he could not have erred, without doing it knowingly and purposely. We shall hereafter see how the affair turned.

The circumstance that confirmed and encouraged the Count of Maillebois in his extraordinary conduct towards the Marshal, was his collusion with the Minister of the War department, and undoubtedly with the favourite also, wishing to disgust M. d'Estrees, whom she had not appointed, and who did not pay his court to her.

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her. It is a fact admitted*, that the Count held a secret correspondence with the Marquis de Paulmy; that he often dispatched couriers extraordinary to him, to criticise the conduct of the General, and to present other plans to him; and that, ever since the 2d of July, he had been informed of the Minister's having proposed to the King, to appoint a successor to Count d'Estrées. In his ambitious dreams, he had undoubtedly flattered himself, that this honour would devolve upon him: he was much disappointed upon seeing Marshal Richelieu arrive.

On the 30th of July—that is four days before his victory—d'Estrées learnt that Marshal Richelieu was coming to join him with 15,000 men. His Majesty, in announcing this reinforcement to him, assigned as the motive for removing him from the command, that being determined to join the two armies, he was desirous of intrusting it to the oldest officer. The rest of the letter contained matters very flattering to M. d'Estrées. We cannot reconcile ourselves to this mean conduct in a Sovereign, who excuses and palliates his conduct to a servant whom he dismisses. He ought never to do this from caprice, from insinuation, or from personal dislike: there should always be some substantial cause, either a fault, or an incapacity, on the part of the person disgraced. And in one of these cases, the King ought to express himself as a Judge who punishes, and to manifest to the nation the motives of a dismissal, which otherwise they can only disapprove and censure.

* See the *Explanations presented to the King by Marshal d'Estrées*, 4to. Paris. 1758.

There

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There were at that time in the army three Princes of the blood, the Duke of Orleans, the Prince of Condé, and the Count de la Marche. Their opinion ought to have had some weight; it appeared that they had not been consulted, and the Duke of Orleans expressed his displeasure at it, by leaving the army to go to Aix-la-Chapelle, the waters of which he pretended would be of use to him. However, before he went, he had received Marshal Richelieu's visit, who began by paying his duty to their Royal Highnesses. This new General, after having had a conference with his predecessor, wrote thus to the King :

4 Aug.

" Marshal d'Estrées has given me an account of the state of the army, and has communicated his plans, like a faithful subject. Nothing can be more prudently conceived. He has left us like a hero."

The new General, whose ardour was not slackened by age, always active, always brilliant, appeared at first to be the person best adapted to the business: and he would, perhaps, have made his predecessor be forgotten in the minds of the inconstant and trifling French, if he had united wisdom and maturity of counsel to his impetuous valour; if he had had a greater degree of foresight, and especially more honesty and moderation; and if, contrary to the conduct of Marshal d'Estrées, he had not advanced into Germany without knowing how he should get out of it. He marched up to the Duke of Cumberland, obliged him to retreat, pursued and pressed him with that impetuosity which is irresistible, forced him to shut himself up in Stade, and wedged him in there in such a manner, that the Duke would certainly have been obliged.

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obliged to surrender, to an enemy who would have been cool and patient enough to wait.

10 Sept.

The Marshal, dazzled with the glory of having, without striking a blow, terminated the war in this quarter, accepted, under the guarantee of the King of Denmark, promised by his representative, Count Lynner, the too-celebrated convention of Closter-Seven; more honourable, undoubtedly, and more useful, than a battle gained, if, drawing it up in a clear and distinct manner, he had given it all the necessary solidity and authenticity.

France pretended by this convention, that she became absolute mistress of all the dominions of the King of Great Britain in Germany, and those of all his allies; England, on the contrary, contended that it had only sheltered the electorate of Hanover—by putting it into a state of neutrality—from the ravages of war, as well as the possessions of the neighbouring Princes. Less motives than these would have occasioned a rupture upon the first opportunity.

To determine, who first broke the convention, is an historical problem, which, like many others that one would think ought not to be so, remains still to be resolved. If we credit Voltaire—always zealous in the defence and praise of his friend—it was the fault of the Ministry at Versailles, who would not ratify the convention, and the laws imposed by the French General on the Duke of Cumberland, and who did not send their ratification till five days after the battle of Rosbach*. According to the English, on the contrary, it was the Duke de Richelieu, who, in contempt of the treaty, was enriching himself with ex-

* See his *Siecle de Louis XV.* chap. xxxiii.

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cessive contributions, and the plunder of a country exposed without defence to his arms; endeavouring thus, in the most cruel and barbarous manner, to repair his fortune, squandered in the disorderly life of a libertine Courtier*. In a word, according to the *Historical Journal of the reign of Lewis XV.* and other private memoirs, it was the Hanoverians, who, notwithstanding the convention of Closter-Seven, had taken up arms again and passed their boundaries. These several circumstances might indeed all have contributed; but the true cause of the breaking of the capitulation, was the defeat of the Prince of Soubise. This event revived the courage of the allied troops, who perceived the weak state of the conqueror. In a word, it was force that had dictated the convention, and it was force that broke it. This will always happen, whenever the good faith of the conquered party is imprudently trusted to, for the observance of a law imposed by force.

Another fault, common to the contracting parties, was, to have accepted the guarantee of a Prince too little powerful to make it respected. Count Lynar had not been able to give satisfaction to the Regency of Hanover for their complaints, and to stop the exactions of the French. He concluded by writing to Marshal Richelieu, that the accommodation was at an end; that there was no longer any room for negotiation on his part, and that he was returning to Denmark. Prince Ferdinand, brother to the Duke of Brunswick, came to take the command of the troops, resuming their arms in all parts, and succeeded the Duke of Cumberland, who returned to

* See the *History of the War of 1756*, written in English.

1757.

London discontented and disgraced, and who was turned into ridicule at Paris, where, in a grotesque caricature, he was represented on foot, with a white stick in his hand, going away with his back turned, and in the attitude of shame and despair. The English had certainly frequent opportunities afterwards of a retaliation more durable, and did not fail to improve them.

It was, however, most proper that the General, who had been one of the contracting parties in the capitulation, should not recommence hostilities. The Commander who succeeded to the King of England's son, sent an officer to Marshal Richelieu, to acquaint him, that his Britannic Majesty had intrusted him with the command of his army; that he did not enter into the motives of this rupture, a justification of which would immediately be published by the Court of London in a manifesto; and that, with regard to himself, he would endeavour from that time to deserve his esteem. The Marshal answered in the following terms:

" S I R,

" Although for some days past, I have observed
 " that the Hanoverian troops were moving, and
 " forming themselves into a body, I could not
 " possibly imagine, that the object of these move-
 " ments was to break the convention of neu-
 " trality, signed on the 8th and 10th of December,
 " between his Royal Highness and me. The good
 " faith, which I naturally supposed on the side of the
 " King of England, Elector of Hanover, and of his
 " Son, who has signed this convention, hath blinded
 " me so far, as to make me believe, that the assem-
 " bling

1757

"bling of these troops was with no other design
 "than to repair to the winter quarters which had
 "been marked out for them. The repeated infor-
 "mations I have received from all quarters, of the
 "evil intentions of the Hanoverians, have at length
 "undeceived me, and it may clearly be discovered
 "at present, that there is a settled plan to break the
 "convention, which ought to be holden sacred and
 "inviolable. The King my master having been in-
 "formed of the dangerous movements, and of the
 "breach of faith in the Hanoverians, is still desirous
 "of giving fresh proofs of his moderation, and of
 "his wish to spare the effusion of blood. It is with
 "this view I have the honour to declare to your
 "Serene Highness, that if, contrary to all expecta-
 "tion, you should take some equivocal step, and
 "still more if you should commit any act of hosti-
 "lity, I will carry matters to the utmost extremity,
 "considering myself as authorized to act in this
 "manner by the laws of war. I will reduce all the
 "palaces, royal houses, and gardens to ashes: I
 "will sack all the towns and villages, without spar-
 "ing the smallest hut. In a word, this country shall
 "experience all the horrors of war. I recommend
 "it to your Serene Highness to consider, and not
 "force me to a revenge so contrary to the humanity
 "of the French nation, and to my own personal
 "character."

He kept his word but too well; and though ob-
 liged in his turn to fly, and to repass the Aller, it
 was not till after he had previously committed the
 most unheard-of cruelties at Zell. He had just re-
 ceived letters appointing him Generalissimo of the

25 Dec.

1757. armies in Germany; and it was upon this occasion that M. de Soubise submitted to act only as Lieutenant General. The Marshal's increase of dignity contributed only to give him the power of committing greater acts of horror and barbarity in the dutchy of Hanover, of which he remained in possession during the winter. He paid not the least regard to the remonstrances of Prince Ferdinand. At length the complaints and expostulations became so warm, that the Court of France could not support him any longer, and he was superseded by a Prince of the Blood. He returned to Paris, laden with spoils, glorious, undoubtedly, if he had acquired them in action, but disgraceful, inasmuch as they were less the fruit of his victories, than of his inhumanity and avarice. His disgrace did not make him blush; on the contrary, he had the impudence, in some sort, to erect a trophy of it, in a superb building, which he had constructed within view of the capital, and which the jesters, in bitter derision, called 'the pavilion of Hanover.'

1758.
February.

It is not consistent with our plan to give a detail of all the little military facts, engagements, and battles, that took place in this unfortunate country: we shall only observe, that the French could never, in five years, resume that superiority which one campaign had given them; that their Generals were often disgraced there; and that, to maintain themselves in it with alternate good and bad fortune, it became necessary to sacrifice infinitely more men, and more money, than the brilliant successes of Marshal Saxe had cost.

Count Clermont, who succeeded Marshal Richelieu, undoubtedly possessed the qualities fit to make him
equally

1758.

equally beloved by the army and by the enemy. Humane, mild, affable, and popular, he began by having great care taken of the soldiers, who were reduced to the most deplorable state. The spirit of rapine, too common in war, instead of having been kept under, had been encouraged by the example of the preceding General, and carried to incredible excesses. His Highness condemned to the pillory a keeper of a magazine, who, instead of receiving the rations of forage, the country was to supply him with, in kind, had taken them in money; and, having been authorized to do this by the Director General, named Milin de Grand Maison, he had ordered the latter to be hanged; who prevented this punishment by his escape.

After having proceeded with vigour against the Commissaries, the Prince felt the necessity of punishing other guilty persons. He wrote word to the King, that his army could not be maintained unless discipline were restored, by expelling from the corps a great number of officers who had absented themselves; but that he was apprehensive his Majesty's goodness would induce him to pardon most of them. The King assured him, he was resolved not to spare any one. The Prince then sent him a list of fifty-two officers, who were broken.

He was incensed at the manner in which Minden had surrendered, after having been invested only six days, while the garrison consisted of eight battalions and eight squadrons, which were made prisoners of war. It was an essential post to preserve, as it covered the army in that part, and prevented Prince Ferdinand from advancing, who was too prudent to leave such a post behind him. The disgrace of this

14 March.

1758.

base capitulation was made still more apparent by the conduct of a corporal of the regiment of Lyonnais, whose name was la Jeunesse. Enraged at seeing that he was going to be led away prisoner, with his comrades, to Magdebourg, he spirited them up so much, that he collected together fifteen hundred of them. At the head of this band he forced the post of the enemy that was opposite to him, made his way through it, and rejoined with his corps the army of the Count of Clermont. We are sorry that we cannot inform the reader what reward was given to an action so generous, worthy of the times of heroism: but all the officers who had signed the surrender of the place were deprived of their employments. M. de Morangies, Lieutenant General, who commanded there, was exiled to fifty leagues distance from Paris; and M. de Maisongelle, Lieutenant Colonel of the regiment of Clermont-Prince, was sent to the citadel of *la Petite Pierre*, in Alsace. The Count de la Guiche alone, not being included in the capitulation, which he refused to sign, had the permission to pay his court to the King.

Unfortunately, the Prince of Clermont, who was Abbé of Saint Germain des Prez, understood no more how to conduct his army than his monks. He had not genius enough for the command, and he had to do with an adversary so skilful, that he could not have kept head against him for a long time, had he even been seconded as well as he could be. It was this knowledge of the incapacity of his Highness, which undoubtedly gave occasion to a *bon mot* of the Count de Saint Germain, bold, and even cynical, but too true. This General Officer, always alert, and always commissioned to discover the enemy,

enemy, having received the visit of an Aid-de-camp from the Prince of Condé—who was commissioned to ask of him in what quarter the enemy was—the Count took a glass, gave it to him, and pointing it toward head-quarters, said, *Look steadfastly; that is the spot where the enemy is.* A prognostic too true of the evils which soon after poured upon the French army, by the loss of the battle of Crevelt, and the taking of Dusseldorp.

This defeat occasioned the greatest concern at Versailles. The Dauphin, who knew the turn of the French, and the discouragement the troops must necessarily feel, was particularly affected with the stain it reflected on the name of Bourbon. He conceived the noble project of effacing it instantly. He wrote to the King, and asked his leave to put himself at the head of the beaten enemy. He urged in his letter the most powerful motives to persuade him; he forestalled the objections that might be made to his resolution, protesting he would do nothing but with the advice of the General Officers. "I am certain," said he, in the conclusion of his letter, "there is not a Frenchman, whose courage will not be revived, and who will not become invincible at the sight of your only Son, leading them on to battle." His august father returned the following answer: "Your letter, My Son, moved me even to tears. We must not suffer ourselves to be depressed by misfortunes. Desperate evils require desperate remedies. This is only a trifling check. I am delighted to find in you the sentiments of our ancestors, but it is not yet time for me to part with you."

In this important letter, we see how much the

1758.

King was imposed upon. This action had been represented to him as a mere check, which was a complete rout, which made us lose in one day, more than fourscore leagues of territory, and all the advantages that had been gained since the beginning of the war. If the Dauphin, however, did not obtain what he asked for, he prevailed at least in having the command taken from the Count de Clermont; who returned to Paris with the burlesque title of *General of the Benedictines**. His Highness had resigned the army to the Marquis of Contades, the eldest Lieutenant General, whom the favourite caused to be honoured with the *baton* of Marshal of France; not as a reward for what he had done, but in expectation certainly of what he would do, or rather to favour the Prince of Soubise, his younger brother, for whom she wished to procure the same dignity. The battle of Lutzelberg, in the country of Cassel, which the latter gained over an army of Hanoverians, Hessians, and English, furnished the lucky pretence for this. Voltaire observes, that the Parisians, who had complained so loudly against this General, beaten at Roshach, scarce condescended to talk about this victory. The fact is, that his defeat had been attended with the most dreadful consequences, and that he knew not how to avail himself of his victory, which was rendered useless by the superior talents of the enemy. This is in general an observation we may make during the whole of this war, in the course of

* There were also many epigrams and verses composed. We shall collect the best of these pieces, which often contain very important historical information, in the Appendix, No. XI. We shall add to them some previous compositions of the same kind against the Prince of Soubise and Marshal Richelieu.

which,

1758.

which, the French reckoned almost as many events, in honour of their bravery and intrepidity, and gained almost as many battles as their enemies. The latter were scarce defeated but they rallied again, and soon appeared afresh in a more formidable manner; whereas the least reverse of fortune depressed the French, put them to flight, and broke them for the rest of the campaign. The want of the principles of the art among their Chiefs, their bad dispositions, their inattention to resources, in case of a check or a complete defeat, the little confidence the troops had in them; all these circumstances, joined to the natural character of the nation, soon inflated with success, and still more easily discouraged by adversity, concurred in producing this difference.

The frequent changes of the Generals contributed much to it also. M. de Contades was soon succeeded by the Duke de Broglie, who was created Marshal of France. The short period of M. de Contades' command was marked only by the battles of Berghen and Minden. The first had been gained by the Duke de Broglie; the latter lost under the orders of Contades, and while he was personally present. It was more fatal and even more disgraceful than the battle of Crevelt. The singular circumstance of it is, that it might have been very glorious, the dispositions of it having been well made; and M. de Contades complained, that it was the Duke of Broglie, who by his inaction had prevented the happy consequences of it. However this may be, these reproaches did not prevent the disgrace of the one, nor the promotion of the other, who was put over the head of more than one hundred officers older than himself. When he had received the

*bâton,*18 Dec.
1759.13 April
and
1 Aug.
1759.

1759. *bâton*, his partizans announced this news in the papers in the following terms:—"The Duke of Broglie", Lieutenant General of the King's forces, has just been created Marshal of France. This dignity has forestalled in him the number of years, and the seniority of rank; but it has not forestalled either the proofs of his superior talents, or the eclat of his services, or the suffrages of the public. If this had been the immediate reward of the brilliant victory of Berghen, the enemy would certainly not have had to object to us the fatal day of Minden." All this was true; but he had a brother, Count Broglie, who was his adviser, his Mentor, whom he could not do without, and who did him much injury. Jealous, envious, turbulent, hasty, lofty, and harsh, he was as much detested by the troops as his elder brother was beloved by them; and the subjection of this one to his younger brother, must often have made him lose the advantage of his own good qualities.

10 July.
1760.

The Marshal signalized his appointment by the victory of Corbach, over a detachment of 30,000 Hanoverians. They were commanded by the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick; and this young hero, rashly impetuous, having begun the action before Prince Ferdinand could come up to his assistance, was obliged to retreat, and leave the entrance into Hesse open, obtaining nothing from his valour but a shot in the loins. The defection of Count Saint Germain, which happened a little after, was too ample a compensation for these advantages in the eyes of connoisseurs. He sent back his red riband

and his brevets to the King, and went over to the service of Denmark. He was an excellent officer, the loss of whom was attributed to the intrigues of Count Broglio. He could have lived very well with the Marshal, whose talents and capacity he esteemed, but he could not bear, that he should in some sort be the tool and pupil of his younger brother.

1760.

The battle of Rhinberg, on the Lower Rhine, deserves to be mentioned, less on account of its importance—though that was considerable, since the Marquis de Castres, who gave the battle, forced the same Hereditary Prince to repass the river and raise the siege of Wesel—than on account of a particular action, almost forgotten at the time, but the memory of which ought to be immortal. M. le Chevalier d'Assas, Captain in the regiment of Auvergne, being sent in the night-time upon a scout, was surprized by a patrolle of the enemy: he was ordered to be silent; and they threatened to kill him, if he spoke a word: he immediately cried out the louder: *Come here, Auvergne, the enemy are here!* This generous Curtius, who ought to have seen these barbarians fall at his feet with admiration, was mercilessly massacred.

16 Oct.

Other particular advantages gave a little consolation to the French for the losses they experienced at that time in every other quarter, and made them applaud the Marshal. The fine defence of Fritzlar, by M. de Narbonne, who obtained the honourable surname of the city, was then very much extolled. The Hereditary Prince, who profited as much by a defeat as by a victory, was routed at Athenhayn, near Grunberg; an affair which caused the raising of the siege of Cassel and the evacuation of Hesse, into which

Feb,
1761.

21 March.

the

and

1761

the enemy had made a sudden irruption, and gave an opportunity to the Parisians to hear *Te Deum* sung; an act of thanksgiving to the Almighty, which we had not been able to render for a long time past. Thus we remained masters of the Landgraviate, of the city of Minden, and Gottinguen, and had a free passage into the electorate of Hanover. Affairs were in a very good situation; Prince Ferdinand, with all his ability, had only been able to retard the success of our arms, and delay for a short time, the junction of Soubise's army with Broglio's; this circumstance gave the French so great a superiority, that the Prince ought to have been crushed, had not an unfortunate misunderstanding saved him.

The two armies were in sight, and it was agreed upon to attack, but the question was, when, and how. This is the difficulty of the problem. The Prince of Soubise accused the Duke of Broglio with having begun the attack too soon, in hopes of acquiring all the honours of the victory. The Duke reproached the Prince with having lost him the victory, by assisting him too late, or rather by not supporting him at all, for fear he should gain it. Such was the dispute occasioned between these two Generals in the affair of Filinghausen, a village which was forced at first by Marshal Broglio, but retaken again the next day by Duke Ferdinand. We have asked the opinions of several officers, eye-witnesses of this action, and have always been answered according to the particular bias of each. But from the testimonies, even of the partizans of Marshal Broglio, we are induced to think that he was to blame. It is very probable, that he suffered himself to be led too much by Count Broglio,

25 July.

1761.

Broglie, and gave way to his indiscreet, bold, and ambitious advice. The nation was the sufferer. These rivals, detesting each other, seemed resolved to remain inactive the rest of the year. The two armies divided; Marshal Broglie retired towards Cassel, and Marshal Soubise crossed the Roer. More intent upon their private quarrels than upon those of the State, they sent their respective memoirs to Court. The latter had too powerful an advocate in Madame de Pompadour: his rival was recalled, and received a letter *de cachet*, which banished him upon his estate. The public, ever disposed to pity the unfortunate, though little informed of the nature of the grievances, and listening only to their esteem for the accused, and their contempt of the accuser, decreed him an honour very capable of alleviating his disgrace. The day after his exile, the tragedy of *Tancred* was played on the French stage; Mademoiselle Clairon acted the part of Amenaide. When she repeated the following lines:

1762.
19 Feb.

" Tancred is banish'd, wrong'd, and spoil'd of
" fame *

" Base persecution is the hero's lot †

* " *On dépoille Tancrede, on l'exile, on l'outrage*

† " *C'est le sort d'un héros d'être persécuté*

" His

1762.

"His friends to silence aw'd; what's his defence?"

"His glory †. —————"

"Who weeps not for a hero in disgrace &?"

the sublime actress poured forth such noble and penetrating modulations of voice, that all the spectators, impressed with the occurrence of the day, felt the application. The name of Broglio was echoed from every quarter, and the play was several times interrupted by plaudits, which were incessantly renewed.

This same public, which had so much regretted Marshal d'Estrées, in their enthusiasm for his predecessor, appeared little pleased with the choice of this old man to succeed the young hero; a choice, which, in fact, was not dictated by any brilliant and decisive advantage. The evil destiny of the French prevailed so far, as that even the joy at the signature of the peace was damped by the disagreeable news of the loss of Cassel, almost at the instant of signing the treaty. This circumstance did not in the least change the state of affairs; but it was swallowing the last dregs of the cup.

1 Nov.

After having given this short account of the events

† "Tout son parti se tait : qui sera son appui ?

"Sa gloire

§ "Un héros qu'on opprime, attendrit tous les coeurs."

of the war by land, it is time to return to the Monarch, who is the chief object of this work, to inquire into his heart, to dive into his councils, to describe his Court, and to unfold all the commotions of it; commotions, which are always frequent in this place of intrigues, of perfidy, of wickedness, and of abominations; the number and violence of which was increased under the present circumstances, notwithstanding the appearance of calm and tranquillity, by the multitude of competitors.

Lewis XV. since the attempt had been made to assassinate him, without becoming a better Prince, was only more melancholy and more pusillanimous than ever. Those who were about him, anxious to prevent a similar misfortune from happening a second time, contributed only to keep up his mistrust by too much caution. If he went a hunting, not only no one was suffered to approach him, but, attentive to every look, as soon as any spectator whatever was observed to displease him, they used to give him notice, and he was obliged to withdraw. Bouc, the great Swiss, with the ox's eye, gave himself the airs to stop every person who had the misfortune to displease him; he asked him questions, and made him undergo a kind of examination; and if this obstinate fellow was not satisfied with the answers, he used to turn him back. Oftentimes, when the fumes of wine had got up into his head, growing more insolent, he insulted people of rank. All this was to be supported, in favour of his zeal for his master, to whom he was useful, as well as to the principal officers of the guard.

One day, Demures, the door-keeper, a man no less

1758.

less brutish and blunt, who settled the places at the *Grand-Couvert*, receiving reproaches from his Majesty for the harshness of his speech and his manners, answered him almost as coarsely: *Sir, It may be so, but it will not be my fault if you receive a second stroke.* How indeed should he have avoided being suspicious? He saw himself betrayed by those of his Courtiers who were most loaded with his favours, his greatest intimates, and his most beloved friends—by Maillebois, by Richelieu, and by the Princes of his blood. The action brought by Marshal d'Estrées, at his return from the army, against the former, which had at first been merely a vague report, left him no room to doubt: it became an acknowledged, notorious, and certain fact, that if the dispositions of the General had been attended to at the battle of Hastenbeck—if he had not been deceived by false intelligence, wickedly suggested to him in the middle of the action, the success of the day would have been complete. The Count was publicly named as the author of this treachery; his excessive ambition and abominable jealousy were detested. His father-in-law, the Marquis of Paumy, who, by his correspondence and influence, had fomented the machination, having been dismissed some months after, the public spoke still more boldly, especially when they saw that this General Officer remained unpunished, and was even talked of for several new employments. This continuation of favour and services would certainly have been his best justification, under another Prince, and in other times; but his family and his friends made him sensible of the necessity of invalidating

invalidating these imputations, too much diffused, and too circumstantial. He did this in a manuscript memorial which he communicated to them, and of which a great number of copies were soon circulated. He pretended, that the importance of the accusation obliged him to disclose matters, which ought to have remained concealed under the veil of mystery; and, under this pretence, his arguments tended not only to deprive the accuser of the principal glory of the memorable day, which was the object of discussion, but also of the previous honour of having passed the Weser.

Marshal d'Estrées being informed of the clamour this memorial began to raise, in which the facts were stated with all the art capable of misleading, soon procured a copy of it, and denounced it at the tribunal of the Marshals of France, as a defamatory libel: he wrote at the same time to the King, to ask leave to answer it. The contest was entered upon so much the more effectually, as Count Maillebois being already set out, in obedience to the King's orders, to command in Flanders, the Marshal his father came to declare to the Tribunal, that he acknowledged the memorial to be written by his son, and that it was avowed by him. This absence, therefore, contrived by the Court, in order to protract and to gain time, and to let the first ferment pass over, in order that judgment might afterwards be pronounced with coolness, did not produce its effect. They did not dare to refuse M. d'Estrées the permission of circulating his *Explanations*; which were printed with his Majesty's consent. Nothing can be added to the clearness, tem-

1758. per, and prudence, of this answer, which enters into the most minute detail of the facts alledged by the adversary, and demonstrates the falsity of them. One cannot but be convinced, by the perusal of it, that if M. de Maillebois has had any part in the operations which paved the way for the passage of the Weser, he had not the least share in the determination which had engaged Marshal d'Estrées to conceive and to execute this project, any more than in the dispositions of the action.

That during the action, he thought he had seen a column of the enemy advancing on the other side of the Weser, upon the Duke of Broglie's camp.

That he had said to the Duke of Orleans: *This is an affair that has failed, we have nothing left for it but to retreat.*

That he had engaged M. de Souvré to march with the Palatines, to occupy the passes to favour the retreat of the French army, saying to him: *My friend, we are cut off.*

That there is reason to think, it was he who sent orders to the Duke of Broglie to abandon his post.

That M. de Puysegur came from him, to ask Marshal d'Estrées for two brigades of cavalry, and two of infantry, to oppose the enemy who were appearing at *la Trouée*.

In a word, that in all the occasions in which Marshal d'Estrées had spoken of him, either in his presence or in his absence, he had endeavoured to justify his intentions, by saying, that he thought him incapable of giving him false intelligence, in order that the battle might be lost.

The

The memorial concludes with this remarkable sentence, in which we discover the tranquillity of the noblest and purest soul : 1758.

"The public hereafter, more indulgent with regard to what concerns M. de Maillebois, will only think that he has not seen objects in a proper light, and that his precipitation in ordering dispositions for a retreat of his own accord, and without my knowledge, has put the troops in a state of confusion, the real cause of which I could not at first discover, which made me lose time that was precious."

The Marshals of France, to the number of eleven, after having met several times, gave their opinion sealed up, which was carried to the King. Their decision has never been legally known, but it is preserved in the records of that tribunal, and there is reason to infer, from all that followed, that it was very rigorous, and condemned the criminal to capital punishment. Paris was in expectation; from the countenances of the sorrowful and dejected relations, it was thought, that a wished-for example would be made; for Count Maillebois, in his disgrace, had the misfortune to interest none but his kindred. At length, it was known, that he had been arrested at Dunkirk, with a great deal of secrecy, and conducted to the citadel of Dourlens. The period of his confinement was unlimited, but he was divested of all his employments. The King gave his post of Inspector to the Marquis of Ségur, and the command of the corps, at the head of which he was in Flanders, to the Count of Gravelle. With respect to the government of Douay, it returned to the Marshal his father, and the post

1758. of Master of the Wardrobe was kept for the son. This punishment inflicted by the Court, which would not adopt the sentence, gave more particular reason to conjecture how rigorous that was, from the manner in which it was softened. The elder Maillebois, upon this mournful occasion, having repaired to Versailles to implore his Majesty's clemency, the King, full of compassion, wrote him the following letter, though he refused to see him.

"Your son has forced me to do what I have done. I feel what the sorrows of a father must be on such an occasion. Spare me the pain of seeing you, it would only increase your grief, without my being able to alleviate it. I shall never forget your services, and shall always look upon you as a good and faithful servant."

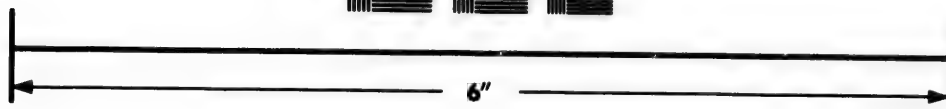
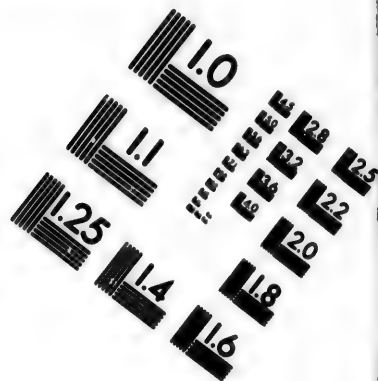
This letter, from a Prince of a disposition so thoroughly mild, who was so favourably inclined to the Count—solicited so powerfully for him by her to whom he could refuse nothing, and prejudiced in favour of his talents by the Minister of the War department, who regretted them—is to the eyes of all impartial persons one of the most incontestible proofs of his guilt. Notwithstanding this, some years after, this illustrious prisoner was released from his captivity, appeared again at Court, obtained new appointments, and perhaps we may see him one day occupying a seat among his Judges.

The Countess of Maillebois attracted to herself all the compassion which the public refused her husband, when she was seen forgetting his debaucheries, with the humiliations and contempt she

she received from him, in order to go and shut herself up with him, and partake in his disgrace. 1758.

This punishment, which strictly speaking was not one—since it was not inflicted by a regular sentence of competent judges—but in reality a contrivance of the Ministry to screen the Count from his sentence, describes, more exactly than any thing that could be said on the subject, the want of principles, the confusion, and anarchy of a Court—the Sovereign of which had neither the strength entirely to pardon a guilty Nobleman, nor to leave his fate to the decision of his Peers. Inconsistency and contradiction universally prevailed there. Marshal Richelieu, less guilty in appearance than Count Maillebois, had done a more real, more important, and more lasting mischief, by enervating discipline—by introducing luxury among the troops—by authorizing debauchery and scandal—by setting the example of an insatiable cupidity, knowing no bounds—and by joining to the unavoidable calamities of war the vexations and barbarities of an insolent conqueror—had been recalled, and, experiencing no more than a slight mark of dissatisfaction, he soon obtained letters-patent to go and command in Guyenne. The Count of Langeron, Lieutenant-General, had been appointed to this post, who, by his care and vigilance, and by his skilful disposition of the troops under his command, when the English fleet arrived before the Island of Aix, had contributed to prevent the enemy from undertaking a descent. This diligent officer was deprived of a reward which he had deserved, in order that it should be bestowed upon the former,





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A vertical ruler with markings from 0 to 6 inches. The markings are in inches, with major ticks every inch and minor ticks every half inch. The numbers 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 are printed along the right side of the ruler.

1758. who had incurred the displeasure of the Court, Marshal Soubise, the object of the sarcasms and derision of the capital, was well received at Versailles : he was acknowledged to be a bad General, but an excellent Courtier. While still covered with shame on account of the affair of Rosbach, he had repaired to Champ, the seat of Madame de Pompadour, who was come there on purpose to receive him. From thence, he went to sup with the King at Choisi. When M. de Paulmy was dismissed from the War department, he was still thought very fit for the Council ; he preserved the title of Minister, his apartments at the arsenal, and a pension of 50,000 livres *, 18,000 † of which were settled in reversion on his wife and children. This was not the whole : he had the satisfaction to treat for the office of Treasurer to the Order of the Holy Ghost, and thus to decorate himself with the blue riband. Who would be apprehensive of a disgrace upon such terms ?—Instead of sending away the Count of Clermont to his abbey of Saint Germain des Prez, to bewail there the misfortunes of France, increased by his inattention and want of skill, and by the infamous and effeminate life he led at the army, he was admitted as freely as ever at Court ; and remained the friend and companion of the King in his debaucheries, by that secret sympathy that reigned between them.

February.

It was at this time that a few allegorical verses were composed, which present a lively and short picture of the events of the day.

* Upwards of two thousand pounds.

† Seven hundred and fifty pounds.

The face of all things is revers'd above,
 Old Plutus struts a coxcomb, spruce and neat;
 Bonnets and caps are topics now for Jove,
 And Venus at the Council takes her seat;
 The God of Wit puts on the sword and shield,
 And Mars, a smirking Abbé, quits the field *.

We may easily guess at all these persons, except Plutus. For this purpose it is necessary to know, that M. de Moras having resigned his post of Comptroller General of finance, to devote himself entirely to the affairs of the navy, M. de Boulogne, Intendant of finances, had been appointed by his Majesty in his stead. The true reason of this was, that the German war, being very expensive, cost enormous sums of money; that M. de Moras, who had very few resources, was besides a disagreeable man to the Parliament, which the Court were desirous of re-establishing; and it was hoped, that when a man was chosen who had been employed upon the subject for thirty years, he might find means and expedients which the other could not. There was the most urgent necessity for such a person. The Government was so destitute of money, that they offered underhand eleven and a half per cent. interest in England, to any persons who would lend. The Lords of the Treasury there promised a reward of two hundred pounds sterling to any one who gave information of any citizen concerned in this loan, because it is a crime of high-

25 Aug.
1757.

* Aux cieux tout a changé de face,
 Plutus est devenu coquet,
 Venus au conseil a pris place,
 Jupin opine du bonnet,
 Mercure endosse la cuirasse,
 Et Mars est en petit collet !

1758

treason to assist the enemies of the State in times of open war. M. de Boulogne was an effeminate man, much engaged at his toilet, very nice about his head-dress, and elegant in his cloaths, but incapable of forming any plan. He created some places, and established some life annuities; he raised the price of tobacco, and extorted fines from certain persons in office; but, having nothing better to do, was dismissed in a year and a half.

M. de Moras, when freed from the embarrassment of the administration of finances, did not conduct the navy with better success. The efforts of England were redoubled; the Minister sent notice of this to the several ports, to excite their activity; but those of France were visibly decreasing: the want of funds, to be advanced occasionally, and with dispatch—the capture of a number of pinks, and other ships of burden, belonging to his Majesty—the discouragement of trade, which was more and more crushed;—the confusion into which the department of Government had been thrown at Rochefort, and the labours they had undergone from the appearance of the enemy at the island of Aix, which, though it was not so fatal to us as it should have been, yet had at least given the enemy this advantage—the scarcity of sailors, which had been increased by the contagious distemper prevailing at Brest in the fleet of M. Du Bois de la Mothe, which, in three months time, had carried off three thousand six hundred and twenty-one men in that city—the forces of the department of Toulon, rendered useless by the skill of the English, or by the ignorance or cowardice of our Commanders;—these several circumstances concurred to pave the way for the disasters of the maritime campaign

1758.

paign of 1758: the inability of coming out in sufficient force, obliged us to have recourse to the stratagems suggested by weakness, and to substitute to vigorous measures cunning and little contrivances.

After having employed near a twelvemonth in getting ready, at this last port, the Squadron of M. de la Clue, consisting only of six ships of the line * and two frigates, this Commander had set sail in November 1757, and, not daring to force the passage of the straits, where he had met with an English fleet of superior strength, had anchored at Carthage on the 7th of December, under pretence of taking in water. He was soon blocked up there, in such a manner that the Ministry resolved to fit out some more ships to join him, and put him in a condition to make head against the enemy. The Marquis Duquesne was charged with this commission: he hoisted his flag on board the *Fou-royant*, of 80 guns; and was accompanied by the *Orphée*, of 64; the *Oriflamme*, of 50; and the *Pleyade*, a frigate of 36. These ships, in conjunction with the former, might have done a great deal; separately, they were of no use. The *Orphée* was taken within sight of M. de la-Clue, who did not think it prudent to hazard a general engagement. The action, as one account says, passed so near the Havre, that the French ships were all filled with spectators upon the yards, and at the top of the masts. This vessel at least surrendered only to one of equal force, and when she saw herself exposed to the attack of another that was coming up. But the circumstance which will fix an eternal oppro-

28 Feb.

* The *Océan*, of 74 guns; the *Redoutable*, of 80; the *Guerrier*, of 74; the *Centaure*, of 74; the *Centurion*, of 64; and the *Hippopotame*, of 50.

1758.

brium on Duquesne, was, that he struck to the *Monmouth*, a ship greatly inferior. This was the first instance of a floating castle of 80 guns having submitted in such a manner. It was, if we may be allowed the expression, *Goliath* conquered by *David*. The ship was conducted in triumph to Gibraltar; and the English saw, with satisfaction, in their power, that proud Governor, who had done them so much mischief in America, and treated them with so much haughtiness. After this unfortunate expedition, the voyage of M. de la Clue—whose object was to go to the American islands, and from thence to Louisbourg—already too much retarded, was now entirely prevented, and he thought himself fortunate to re-enter Toulon with his fleet. This check totally disconcerted the projects of Government in the Mediterranean; and Admiral Holbourne, under whose auspices the action had passed, was congratulated, and received, at his return, the thanks of the Parliament, in the name of the nation.

Another English Squadron was continuing to cruise in the Bay of Biscay, under the command of Sir Edward Hawke. It intercepted the several merchantmen sent from Bourdeaux, la Rochelle, and Rochefort, and impeded the communication of this last port with that of Brest. At this time it was that the *Raisnable*, a new ship of 64 guns, commanded by the Chevalier de Rohan, was taken. Having set out with the *Prudent*, under the command of the Marquis Desgouettes, with three frigates, fitted out as pinks*, and two pinks belonging to the King, he had slipped away with all his convoy. They were already

* The *Diane*, the *Fidèle*, and the *Matine*. The two pinks were the *Messenger* and the *Chevre*.

1758.

9 March.

off Cape Ortogal, when, by an unskilful manœuvre, the Chevalier de Rohan struck so forcibly against the *Messager*, that this pink of three hundred and fifty tons burthen opened and sank. The crew only was saved. The *Raisable* herself, much damaged, was obliged to stand in for Port l'Orient, and after having been repaired, the Captain, to complete his catastrophe, on going to Brest, fell into the hands of the enemy, and struck his flag without much resistance. Such a conduct—for which at least he deserved censure, on account of his remarkable awkwardness—hath not prevented this great Nobleman from being made Lieutenant General, under the name of Prince of Montbazon, or even from obtaining the command at St. Domingo. The only punishment inflicted upon him, was, not to intrust him with another ship.

Notwithstanding so many unlucky incidents, disasters, and faults, either on the part of those whose business it was to give the orders, or of those who were commissioned to execute them, the northern colonies were plentifully supplied with provisions, troops, and ammunition, in proper time; but not without enormous losses. In order to make one vessel pass, it was necessary to sacrifice four. It was necessary to have recourse, at great expences, to neutral bottoms, which were not always honest, and whose interest it was frequently to let themselves be taken, in order to increase their profits. Stratagems of every kind had been employed; ships were ventured alone, or small convoys sent from the least-frequented ports; advantage was taken of dark nights, of fogs, and even of high seas and tempestuous seasons, in which it was hoped there would be no opposition from the enemy. While there was an appearance

1758. appearance of preparations for an embarkation of troops and ammunition in the west, the transports and vessels of burthen slipped out of the western ports, or through those latitudes from which the English had been driven by a gust of wind. Having escaped the vigilance of the European cruisers, those of the northern seas were next to be eluded. The fogs of Newfoundland, and the ice of the river St. Lawrence; dangers which despair alone, or the most insatiable cupidity could encounter, were the resources of these navigators, and especially the passage of the straits of Belleisle, extremely perilous, but unknown at that time to the rivals of France.

30 Jan,

Two small squadrons had set out from Brest. The first under the command of M. de la Villéon, consisting of two ships and one frigate*; but one of these ships being very much damaged, and unable to proceed, had returned to Brest. The second, more considerable, was commanded by the famous Beaufrier; he had with him four ships of the line and one frigate†; these forces were not sufficient to oppose those of the English; nevertheless, it is well known, that the defence of a colony depends chiefly upon a powerful fleet. Beaufrier was not only unable to fight that of the English, which consisted of 33 ships of the line, and 8 frigates, but he could not even appear before it, retard, or impede it's disembarkation; he was obliged to keep within, and con-

* The *Magnifique*, of 74 guns, on board of which was the Commandant; the *Amphion*, of 50, M. de la Monneraye, Captain; and the *Syrene* of 30, M. Beaufrier Chateau Vert, Captain.

† *L'Entrepreneur*, of 74 guns, commanded by M. Beaufrier; the *Celèbre*, of 64, by M. de Marolles; the *Capricieux*, of 64, by the Chevalier Tourville; the *Bienfaisant*, of 64, by the Chevalier de Courseran; and the *Comète*, of 40, by the Chevalier de Lorgueil.

fine

fine himself to watch over the road and the port; and from that time the loss of Louisbourg was foreseen.

1758,

It was on the 2d of June that Admiral Boscawen, conveying sixteen thousand experienced troops, cast anchor in the Bay of Gabarus, having 157 sail, including transports. As he had received several informations concerning the impossibility of landing upon a shore so well guarded and fortified, and upon the danger of manœuvring his ships in a place, the soundings of which the pilots were ignorant of, he chose previously to consult his officers in private; and the general opinion was already to yield to the difficulties, or at least to discuss them before-hand, in a general council of war, composed of the sea and land officers; when old Fergusson, a Captain who had the confidence of the Admiral, despising the advice of his comrades, and their arguments, said: "For your own honour, and for the glory of your country, let us have no council of war; display the powers with which you are invested, and do not hazard them by a dangerous pusillanimity, and by uncertain discussions. Call to mind what has past at Minorca, at Rochefort, and even at Halifax, and do not lose in deliberations a time which is so precious, when the business is to act." This resolute speech re-animated the Admiral; he considered no longer the difficulties, which were starting up, and increasing with every disquisition. He signified his resolution not to go out of the bay, till he had tried every method to fulfil his instructions. From that time all dangers and difficulties disappeared, or at least were surmounted; the landing was effected, though not without prodigies of valour; for these were

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were certainly necessary, to resist the impetuosity of the French, to climb a rock without any protection, and to fix upon it, notwithstanding the fire of a formidable artillery.

As soon as the besieged saw the enemy firmly established on shore, they took the only expedient they had left, which was, to shut themselves up in Louisbourg. M. de Drucourt, Captain of a ship, was the Governor of it; he defended himself with much bravery and perseverance, as was expected of him: but there is one anecdote we must take care not to omit, which is, that Madame Drucourt seconded her husband by her courage. Continually upon the ramparts with her purse in her hand, and firing herself three guns every day, she seemed to dispute with him the honour of his duty. The effect of this resistance ought to have been the saving of the colony, if the succours promised from Canada had arrived, or if some had come from Europe. The feeble effort was only made of sending there the *Formidable*, of 80 guns, commanded by Commodore M. de Blenac. He conveyed M. de Villepatour, an officer of artillery, even then in high estimation, and whose reputation has been constantly increasing ever since. But this ship did not sail 'till the 11th of May, and came there to act the same part as the *Vigilant* had done, in the preceding war: upon it's arrival, the place was already invested; this circumstance might have been suspected at Court, and, instead of trusting this expedition to a cold and timid man, as M. de Blenac was, they should have appointed an intrepid Commander, an ardent, and even a rash enthusiast, such a one, in a word, as he who was destined for the artillery, and who unfortunately

was

was no more than a passenger on board. What a matter of concern must it not have been to M. de Villepatour, when he saw himself brought back into Europe, frustrated of the honour he was ambitious of acquiring? Accordingly, M. de Blenac, satisfied with the information he received, that an English squadron blocked up the port, without making any attempt to get past it, and without being desirous of taking a personal observation of the enemy, or at least of verifying the reports that were brought to him, tacked about, and returned faster than he had come. From that time the besieged lost all hope of escaping the enemy. The bad success of the sallies they attempted at several intervals, together with the skillfulness of the operations concerted by Admiral Boscawen and General Amherst, who commanded the land forces, rendered it necessary to capitulate, before an assault was made, which could not possibly be sustained. The Governor was very unwilling to yield himself and his garrison prisoners of war, but he was forced to it by the intreaties of the principal commissary, and the tears of the inhabitants. The capitulation was honourable; and *the conqueror, says the Abbé Raynal, shewed more respect for the enemy, and for himself, than to sully his glory by any act of barbarity.*

27 July,

Before the surrender of the place, the whole of M. de Beauffier's squadron, consisting of five ships, had been either burnt or taken, which rendered the conquest still more important. It was a fresh blow given to the French navy, which tended to annihilate it totally in a short time. Besides, the capture of Cape Breton facilitated the conquest of Canada in
the

1758.

the ensuing year: for it had at least been retarded this season by the vigorous defence of M. Drucourt.

2 June.

M. de Moras had not the misfortune of seeing his administration marked by the loss of this important colony, the first dismembering which the dominions of France experienced. He had just resigned, and it was the Marquis de Massiac, Lieutenant General in the sea service, who was appointed his successor, in conformity to a new plan, settled by Administration, of intrusting each department to a man who had gone through the inferior ranks, and was grown old in the service*. This had furnished a pretence for expelling M. de Rouillé, whom Madame de Pompadour had raised from the naval department to that of foreign affairs, and whom she had just sent back to the superintendence of the Posts. He was thus made to remove, at pleasure, from one office to another. Upon this occasion, the Marchioness was desirous of promoting the Abbé Count de Bernis to his post, who, as he had been intrusted with several embassies—was the author of the treaty of Vienna—and had been introduced some time since into the Council, seemed to possess all the qualifications necessary to fill the department to which he was appointed, with propriety. We have just seen, that, in conformity to the same system, M. de Boulogne had been created Comptroller General. Marshal Belleisle, who was the instigator of this plan, and had suggested the idea of it to the favourite, had been guided in this proposal by personal motives. It

* At that time there was a manuscript letter handed about upon the subject, which was very droll, very exact, and worthy of being preserved. It will be found in the Appendix, N° XII.

was indirectly pointing himself out for the War department, which he had just obtained; but as his ambition was stronger than his health, he had, at the same time, required an associate; this was M. de Crémille, Lieutenant General of the army, a creature of his, who was to assist him in the details and functions of his office, and to work with his Majesty, either in conjunction with himself, or separately, according to circumstances. The navy, more than any other department, seemed to call for a man of the profession at its head; which occasioned the appointment of M. de Massiac. The following is the manner in which this happened; for there is nothing but good or bad fortune in the world, and especially at Court. It is our chief object to give an account of these private scenes; they contribute to furnish us with a picture of the morals and character of every period of the reign of Lewis XV.

When the incapacity of M. de Moras had been acknowledged, though undoubtedly rather too late, the Council assembled at Madame de Pompadour's, to appoint his successor. It being determined to choose him from among the naval officers, a Royal Almanac was opened, and the properest person was searched for. With regard to the two Vice Admirals, one of them being almost ninety years of age, required nothing but rest; the other, of an illustrious name, of slender talents, and very ignorant—scarce knowing how to read and write—was besides too much puffed up with his birth, not to consider every civil department, even that of Secretary of State, as beneath his dignity. He had just been created Marshal of France, and, from the beginning of the war, had been constantly flattered with the hopes of

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commanding a naval army against England. This was a perpetual source of alarm presented to the English, which had at first inspired them with terror, but now occasioned little concern. When the list of General Officers had been read through, the determination was scarce less embarrassing than ever. Some of them had never seen any service, and were only known by being upon the list; others were absent, prisoners, at sea, in the colonies, or employed in the ports. One of them was a bigot, another a buffoon, a third was a man of mean extraction, a fourth did not understand the navy better than a Master of Requests. Uncertain upon whom the choice should fall, a person present said, "Madam, without troubling yourself any more about the matter, here is a man at hand, who will suit extremely well—he is an ancient Lieutenant General, is rich, and has been at Court for this long while. Having a great estate to manage, he has already some notions of administration; he is prudent, cool, not presumptuous, will be tractable, and ready to do every thing that is required of him. It is M. de Massiac. Besides," added he, "since Marshal Belleisle has been desirous of having an assistant, one may also be given to him, in the person of a man of great merit, and who has the honour of belonging to you: I mean M. Normant le Mery, formerly Intendant at Rochefort, at present Intendant of the naval armaments. He is a Gentleman of acknowledged and unalterable probity, and, being very economical, will perfectly understand how to restore order and intelligence in the management of the naval funds, so extravagantly lavished under the present Minister."

The

The proposing of M. le Normant, was attacking the favourite by her foible. It was, besides, preventing all contradiction; no one would venture to oppose the suggestions of a partizan of M. de Massiac. His advice was unanimously followed. This officer, proposed to the King by the favourite, became the idol of the moment; but he was obliged to accept for his assistant the person above mentioned, under the title of *Intendant General of the Navy and the Colonies*. This experiment was not calculated to justify the system that had just been established. The navy would never have been worse managed than at that period, when it was governed, for the first time, by two men, taken, one from it's own corps, and the other from Administration, if M. de Berryer had not immediately succeeded them. M. de Massiac, naturally indolent, of an infirm habit, and hypochondriacal, was every morning employed at nothing else but his toilet, or in the care of his health. Being, besides, a weak man, he did not dare to assume with his comrades the dignity which he acquired from his office. He had married a certain Madame Gourdan, widow of a First Clerk, a gamester by profession, and who admitted, without distinction, at her house, all those who had money enough to appear there, and consequently very bad, or at least very mixed company. She had the ascendant over her husband, but was herself governed by a set of gamesters, who made a gambling-house of her hotel. The First Clerks, who had always been jealous of M. le Normant, and thought themselves superior to him, could not submit to work under his orders: they used their utmost efforts to make him commit all kinds of blunders, in order to get rid of him. This

1758. association could not last longer than five months: the Ministers were dismissed the same year that they were promoted, and their names were not even inserted in the Royal Almanac. When M. de Massiac was required to give up the ensigns of his office, he replied, that he would go and return them to the King. As there was no letter *de cachet*, which forbade him the presence of his Majesty, inspired by a noble boldness, of which he was not thought capable, he dared, for the first time, to present to Lewis XV.—who was more out of countenance than himself—the person of a disgraced Minister, and wrested, in some measure, from his Majesty the permission of paying his court to him.

During the short time of his administration, France lost not only Louisbourg, with the islands of Cape Breton and St. John, but also the fort of Frontenac in America, of Senegal and Goree on the coast of Africa: and in India, Count d'Aché, with superior forces, fled with his flag before that of the enemy, and France was three times insulted upon her own coasts.

5 June.

The first time was by Lord Anson, who, with twenty-two ships of the line, anchored in the Bay of Cancele, near Saint Malo's, and landed there with fifteen battalions of light troops, and artillery. The English encamped before the town, burnt three of the King's frigates, twenty-four privateers, seventy merchant-men, forty small craft, together with the magazines of hemp, pitch, &c. and at the end of a week retired, without receiving the least check. The consternation they had spread there may be judged of by this ridiculous and emphatical mandate of the Bishop, which ordered

dered a solemn procession by way of a thanksgiving for the departure of the enemy. Through the medium of these religious rodemontades, we may readily discover the panic with which he was seized.

"Let us praise the Lord with timbrels, let us praise him with drums, &c. for God has broken the armies; for in the camp, in the midst of the people, he hath delivered me out of the hands of those that persecuted me."

"Bethulia, reduced to the greatest extremity, having no resource left, nor any hope of assistance, and when the frightened inhabitants only wished for a voluntary surrender, was saved by one of those striking miracles, which manifested, in the most sensible manner, the operations of the all-powerful hand of the Most High. Your deliverance, on the contrary, appears at first sight very natural; but whoever will pay a little attention to the whole of this event, cannot but perceive in it evident marks of God's protection of this city. You have taken all the precautions that courage and conduct could dictate against the attack you was threatened with, and which you looked upon as unavoidable. These precautions have been superfluous. There has not even been one single canon fired against your town. You were in hopes, that the troops sent to your assistance would have driven away the enemy; but they did not wait for them. The news of the succours came to them, and they retired with precipitation. The winds were against their return, but it was decided by Providence, that they should retire the same way they came; and they have

been

1758.

"done this in defiance of contrary winds. Ought
 "you not therefore to say; *if God be for us, who*
"shall be against us?"

As for the rest, the Duke of Malborough, who commanded the land forces, in conformity to his instructions, behaved towards the inhabitants, and other subjects not in arms, with all possible humanity. Seven sailors and a soldier were hanged for having indulged themselves in pillaging.

The ravages occasioned by this invasion were estimated at twelve millions * loss in naval effects only.

The second insult was still more fatal. It was executed under the command of Commodore Howe, who already began to signalize himself, and of General Bligh. The better to encourage the troops, Prince Edward, since Duke of York, attended by a great many young Noblemen, as volunteers, embarked on board the fleet. Cherbourg was the place they resolved to attack and to destroy. That port, the harbour of which we were employed in deepening and enlarging, might one day become, by it's position in the Channel, extremely troublesome to Great Britain. France had yet no port in the Channel, capable of receiving the King's ships and fleets; and this one, which was extensive and commodious, united a great number of advantages, that would have rendered it much superior to the port of Dunkirk, so much extolled, and which has excited so much jealousy.

The English appeared before it on the 6th of August, and on the 7th, the garrison having re-

* Five hundred thousand pounds.

tired

1758.

tired from the place, which was not in a condition to defend itself, the enemy became masters of it, and, behaving with their usual discipline, they contented themselves with levying heavy contributions in the country, with demolishing the works, and reducing the port to a most deplorable state. They burnt there twenty-seven ships, spiked up one hundred and seventy-three pieces of canon and three iron mortars. Twenty-two superb pieces of canon and two brass mortars were sent to England, with the colours taken in this expedition; a spectacle of a new kind for the present generation, since it was the first enterprize upon the coasts of France, for several centuries past, which had produced any considerable and lasting damages to the kingdom, and which could do honour to the boldness, intelligence, and capacity, of the Generals. Upon one of the sluices were written several inscriptions, among which was the following, which, in some measure, retrieves the memory of Cardinal Fleuri, and proves that the navy was not so indifferent to him as it has been supposed.

Ludovici XV. jussu

Floris consilio,

Asfeldi ductu

In ævum rotat hæc moles.

Ars, naturæ victrix, aquarum impetum

Refrenat, facilem navibus tempestate ævis

Aditum dat, tutelam asserit, copiam erexit,

Gloriam perpetuat simulque Principem

Sapientem, heroa, posteritati commendat.

This inscription was thus parodied by a land officer,

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officer, who caused his to be engraved under it.

"Lewis, and Fleuri, and Asfeld, must now yield to George, to Pitt, to Bligh, and to Howe. The work of a century has been destroyed by a puff of wind. The tide is free at present, and the rage of the sea commands. Their riches and their security are lost, their glory is vanished, as well as the pride of the King, of the Minister, and of the Hero."

The spoils of France, the military trophies which we have mentioned above, were carried in triumph through London a week afterwards, and conducted to the Tower.

If General Bligh had contented himself with this victory, he would have been the idol of England, so great was the joy and satisfaction it occasioned: but on the 4th of September, having made another attempt upon Saint Brieux, in Brittany, the boldness of the English was chastized in this third descent executed by them; the Duke d'Aiguillon came up with them on the 11th at Saint Cas, obliged them to re-embark with precipitation, took 700 prisoners, and occasioned the loss of more than 4,000 men, killed or drowned. They had landed thirteen thousand, of which number scarce 8,000 escaped.

The French, in their turn, laughed at their rivals; they made songs to the glory of the conqueror, and, playing upon the word, they said, that the enemy had been driven away, *à grands coups d'Aiguillon* †. Unfortunately, this victory served

† *With many severe sings. Aiguillon, in French, signifies a flag.*

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only to prevent any further mischief, but did not repair the damage already done on our coasts. The British Government had, at any rate, fulfilled it's principal object, which was to hinder us, by such alarms, from unguarding our coasts, and from reinforcing our armies in Germany. They had obliged us to keep our troops continually upon the watch, and in motion, and thus brought expences upon us, tending to make our finances still worse, which they already knew were in an extreme bad state. They were indeed so much reduced, that France was only able to form one maritime enterprize during M. de Massiac's administration; an enterprize which was undoubtedly a very feeble one; but would have proved very useful, if it had been crowned with that success which seemed unavoidable. In the month of September, a ship and two frigates were fitted out at Brest, for a *secret* expedition, as it was called. In fact, it was so, and was even conducted with so much mystery, that it escaped the utmost vigilance of the enemy's spies. We postpone the curious details of it to a particular account †. In this place, we shall only give a summary relation of it. The intention was, to intercept the ships of the English East India Company, by a cruize established off the Island of Saint Helena, where they must necessarily touch on their return home, to receive a ship for convoy. Notwithstanding all the obstacles which the plan had suffered, it was so excellent a one, that we might have surprized about ten of those vessels,

† It will be inserted in the Appendix of the fourth volume.

whose

1758. whose cargo was worth more than twenty-two millions $\text{\pounds}$. But misunderstandings, jealousies, and unskilful manœuvres, made the project fail; and the French Squadron experienced the shame and mortification of seeing themselves afterwards at anchor, in a neutral port, along side of those very English, who insulted them for their inability.

The pitiful conduct of M. de Massiac, and the short time of his administration, disgusted the Court from intrusting the naval department to a man of the profession. They returned to the Masters of Requests, and M. de Berryer obtained it. Every body was confounded with astonishment at this news; people asked each other, whether the intent was absolutely to complete our ruin, by employing such a Minister, in the present important crisis of the Colonies, and of naval affairs. This person, who had but lately been taken from the police, had never given proofs of any of those talents required for the delicate post to which he was raised. He was, besides, destitute of humanity, harsh, blunt, and even brutish; was detested in every office he had filled; and had no other merit, than being servilely devoted to the favourite, and excessively abject to every person of whose assistance he stood in need. She had introduced him to the Council of Dispatches, and soon after to the Council of State, that she might secure another vote to herself in that Body; and especially a spy, able to give her an account of all that should pass there. He had observed, that Marshal Belleisle directed

$\text{\pounds}$ Near a million sterling.

them,

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them, and was their oracle ; to him, therefore, he paid his court. The Marshal, always busied with projects, not having been able to succeed in Germany, wished to resume the idea of striking a great blow in England, by the plan of an invasion ; which is so easily formed, and always first suggested by men of weak understandings ; but which, to be carried into execution, would require all the resources of a vast genius, capable at once of subjecting itself to the most minute details, and of uniting to a great deal of boldness, the most rapid dispatch in business. He thought he had found the man he wanted in M. de Berryer ; that is to say, an active and tractable agent, whom he might direct as he pleased, and who would implicitly follow his various instigations. He was mistaking : the new Secretary of State had a great share of ignorance, but still more presumption and obstinacy. Abject when he wanted to acquire the suffrage of his benefactor ; he became, according to custom, refractory when he thought he could do without him. Trifling in his disposition, as well as from the nature of the place he had so long occupied, his attention was engaged upon small matters of reformation, instead of being employed in seconding with efficacy the vigorous measures pursued by the Marshal in his office ; for the military and naval departments were mutually to assist each other—could not succeed otherwise—and M. de Berryer, by not making the navy act in concert with the army, occasioned the failure of the wise plans concerted by the Marshal in his department.

M. Berryer, who had entered into the Ministry impressed with the idea, for which indeed there was too much reason, of the enormous depredations committed in his department, had not the sense to perceive,

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perceive, that it was necessary to postpone, to a more seasonable opportunity, the remedying of these abuses—that the capital and urgent point of preserving the colonies, which were the principal seat of them, was first to be attended to—and that, when a house is burning, one should not be diverted from putting out the fire, by the less material attention of preventing robbers from carrying off some of the effects. While he had presided over the police, the only springs of his administration had been informers and spies; and these were the persons he still employed. He found out in Paris an old officer of the civil department of the navy, who had been expelled from his corps for his bad conduct, and made him his confidant, his counsellor, and even his director. From a principle of mistaken vanity, not daring to acknowledge his incapacity to those who might have instructed him at large, he secretly consulted this subaltern, who had some little knowledge of the matter; but at the same time, ashamed of such a preceptor, in order that it might not be known from whence, or how, he acquired his maritime principles, he made him come up secretly into his closet by a private staircase, and at times when the First Clerks were not likely to meet with him. This management continued for some time without creating suspicion. In the mean while, this counsellor of M. Berryer, availing himself of the circumstance to gratify his private animosities, pursued his revenge in a cruel manner. Every post conveyed menacing letters against the Commanders, dismissions, and cashiering of Officers, against whom there were only vague complaints, of long standing, or unattested. The source of these oppressions was at length discovered, and

and the Minister was obliged to disgrace this little Sejanus, who in his way had already done a great deal of mischief, and had collected pecuniary rewards, which were certainly very ill employed, and might have been reckoned among those burthenome profusions the Minister wished to suppress.

While M. Berryer's attention was thus most ferociously engaged in these little details—while he was dismissing some officers of the civil department—retrenching the appointments of others—and diminishing the profits of the contractors, whose accounts were examined afresh—the enemy were beating our squadrons—completing the ruin of our navy—taking Guadalupe, Quebec, Martinico, all Canada, and Pondicherry—and were continually insulting us, even in our own country.

The English, extending their views of conquest in proportion as their rivals were enfeebled, after the capture of Cape Breton, not only entertained thoughts of reducing all our possessions in North America, but even of beginning the invasion of our sugar-islands. Martinico, the most important of these, from its situation to windward, and the center of all the other islands in these latitudes, was the one that disturbed them most. Being full of merchants, and seafaring people, it was able to furnish succours of men, arms, and provisions, which reached the place of their destination in four-and-twenty hours, with a moral certainty of not being intercepted, notwithstanding the strength and multiplicity of the squadrons employed to impede this communication.

This was not all: swarms of privateers coming out from this harbour, obliged the merchantmen of Great Britain to have recourse to convoys, and this expensive

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expensive inconvenience prevented them from sending provisions as regularly as it was necessary, to keep those islands free from want. With regard to the small vessels, which being more bold, attempted those expeditions, it was calculated that two fifths of them fell into the hands of our privateers. In a word, at the time of the taking of Martinico by the English, during the last war, the records of the Admiralty still mention a total of four thousand vessels carried off in that manner.

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Ever since the month of October, ships and troops had been sent from Europe for this expedition against Martinico, which was jointly intrusted to Commodore Moore and General Hopson. The first had a squadron of ten ships of the line, and the second commanded eight thousand land forces. The landing was effected on the 16th of January; but the enemy having been repulsed by the inhabitants, with more vigour than was expected, they did not think it prudent to spend their time, and their forces, in an attack, the success of which was very doubtful; and which, besides, was liable to be interrupted every moment by succours sent from Europe, that were incessantly expected. The English turned their forces against Guadalupe, a conquest more proportioned to the smallness of their army. It could not,

23 Jan.

however, be completed in less than three months. A woody country, intersected with rivers, hollow ways, passes, and steep rocks, presented natural obstacles it was necessary to overcome. It is true that the English scarce met with any other. The loss of this island will for ever be the disgrace of Governor Nadau, branded at first by a Court Martial, but at length reinstated by dint of intrigues and money,

two infallible means, which sooner or later always succeed in this country. It will also be the disgrace of the Marquis de Beauharnois, his Majesty's Governor and Lieutenant-General in the Windward islands, who remaining quietly at Martinico, and thinking of nothing but his own security, neglected so much to keep a watchful eye upon that part of his government, that he did not send any assistance to it for several months. This loss will reflect an equal disgrace on M. de Bompar, who arriving from Brest with a powerful squadron, was six weeks before he put himself in motion to seek the English fleet. These two officers, although not condemned by any sentence, were degraded by the opinion of the public. In vain did they lay the blame upon the slowness of the Minister, who delayed six months before he sent the ships solicited by those colonies: though this was an additional fault, to be laid by the nation to the charge of the Minister, yet it did not justify them. It is proved, even by the avowal of the English, that if the Marquis of Beauharnois had appeared one hour sooner, Guadalupe would not have fallen into their hands. The French Generals were then the more culpable, as the situation of the place, and the circumstances, seemed to deprive the enemy of the means of opposing them. Such was the inaction of the British fleet, that being detained at Dominica for near eleven weeks, it remained a quiet spectator of the captures made by the privateers of Martinico, who carried off, almost in their sight, more than ninety merchantmen of their nation.

The besiegers had lost their General, succeeded by General Barrington, who being himself seized with the gout, in the foot, the hand, and the stomach,

could

1759. could only give imperfect orders. His little army was so much fatigued by continual labour, that he readily accepted the proposal of a capitulation, and granted the most honourable terms, not in consideration of the valour of M. de Nadau, but on account of the critical situation in which he found himself, which did not permit him to be very difficult, as we see in his letter to Mr. Pitt.

1 May.

It was, however, a very fortunate circumstance for the inhabitants to be conquered at this time, when, during a three months siege, their plantations had been destroyed, their warehouses burnt, and part of their slaves carried off. If the conqueror had been obliged to retire after all these ravages, the island would have remained without resource: the mother country had it not in her power to send them any assistance, and they had no commodities to barter with the neutral Powers, in exchange for subsistence. They therefore received the kind offers of the English General with confidence, who gained their affection so much, that *it was doubted, says an historian, whether he was more beloved and respected by his own troops, or by the conquered people.* The small islands of Desceada, the Saintes, Bartholomew, and Marigalante, all of them dependent upon Guadalupe, fell with that island under the yoke of the English, and could do nothing better for their preservation.

While Moore and Barrington were triumphant in the West Indies, Saunders and Wolfe were signalizing themselves in North America, and laying siege to Quebec. We have already observed, that the war in this continent had, till that time, turned to the advantage of the French. In 1758, they were still successful; the Marquis de Montcalm gained a

signal

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signal victory, on the 8th of July, near Fort Carillon; on the 14th of September, M. de Ligneris beat a detachment of a thousand English, towards Fort Duquesne: but these very successes were the cause of all the misfortunes of the colony. The English, who saw that with much inferior forces we overturned all their projects, took the resolution to increase their army in that country, to such a degree, that they crushed us at last by their numbers. In the spring they had forty thousand men there, while we had scarce fifteen hundred. In vain had the Marquis de Vaudreuil, foreseeing the siege of Quebec to be unavoidable, solicited for reinforcements; the want of money, the difficulty of sending troops there, the wavering disposition of the Ministry, their absurdity, the general dejection of the King's navy, and the little encouragement given to the brave Captains of merchant-ships, called *Officiers Bleus*, who, after having shewed prodigies of valour, had a great deal of trouble to get into the Royal navy, and were looked upon there with that contempt with which they had a much better right to treat their rivals—all these circumstances concurred in defeating the foresight of this Commander.

A fleet of 35 ships, each of three or four hundred tons burthen, was required to supply the wants of the Commissary of the stores in eatables alone, independent of the subsistence, and other necessaries, to be sent on the King's account, which were designed for the inhabitants, and for all those who were not supplied by rations. Not a fourth part of these things was sent, and few arrived—no troops, no fresh ammunition, and especially no fleet; so that Canada was reduced to it's own forces:—but M. de Berryer,

1759. like an exact Minister, did not fail to send a Commissary, to assist the Intendant in settling his accounts. It was not certainly from this civil officer that the salvation of the colony was to be expected. Accordingly, the English were not afraid of him; their flag soon appeared before Quebec. Alas! of what little avail is all human science, and how soon are the best-planned enterprizes disconcerted! Notwithstanding the forsaken state in which Ministry had left Canada—notwithstanding the want that prevailed there—notwithstanding the inferiority of its forces, one instant might have saved the colony, and annihilated the power of the English on this continent. Eight fire-ships had been fitted out in the road; a feeble, but the best method of defence that could have been thought of. Scarce had the enemy's fleet anchored at the island of Orleans, when those infernal machines were sent off in the night-time, to reduce it to ashes; and if the orders had been punctually executed, both men and ships would have been all lost. But the Captains who conducted this operation were seized with terror; they set fire to their vessels too soon, and hastened back to land in their boats. The besiegers, who had seen the flames from a distance, had time, from this precipitation, to guard themselves against them; and this great fault of the Canadians, was really the circumstance which decided their fate.

27 June.

They depended still upon another danger, more concealed, and contrived by nature itself against their enemies, but which only served to prove the ability of the English sailors, and the ignorance of ours. There is in the river a place called *La traverse du Nord*, which was looked upon as a very difficult pass. Every year, at the time of the approach of the King's ships,

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ships, the signals intended to guide them over this place were repaired; and these precautions were attended to for the smallest frigates. Upon the first intelligence received, that Saunders had entered the river, great care was taken to suppress all the buoys, in order to increase those embarrassments, so much dreaded by the French. Their rivals made a jest of them, and went over this pass with ships of 70 or 80 guns, in the night, as well as in the day-time; they even crossed it with several ships abreast, tacking about, and shewing themselves more skilful than the pilots of the country*.

In the mean while the English had more serious obstacles to surmount. They had a great deal of trouble to land, and establish themselves in the environs of the place. The borders of the river were so well defended by troops, and redoubts, placed at different distances, that the first efforts failed. These unfortunate attempts lasted six weeks, and we may judge, from the very circumspcct letters of the two Commanders of the enterprize, that they began to be disgusted with it. Wolfe wrote to Mr. Pitt, "the interests of Great Britain require the most vigorous measures; but the courage of a handful of brave men is only to be displayed where there are some hopes of success. You may, however, be assured, that the little time remaining for the campaign, shall be employed, as much as possible, for the honour of his Majesty and the good of the na-

* See *Letter of M. de Bigot*, Intendant of the colony, to M. Berryer, dated 22 October 1759, wherein he is obliged to tell this anecdote, so disgraceful to all the French navy.

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"tion.—I shall be happy if our efforts contribute
"here to the success of his Majesty's arms."

Saunders, on his side, wrote, on the 1st of September:—"The enemy seem to be numerous, and strongly posted; but, whatever the event may be, we shall remain here as long as the season will permit us, in order to prevent at least any detachment of troops from Quebec from being sent against General Amherst."

It was not till the 12th of September, that is to say, after having remained three months in the river, that the enemy had the singular good fortune to land without being perceived. This was done an hour before day-break, at the distance of a league and a half above the town. The army, six thousand strong, was already formed in order of battle, when it was attacked the next day by a body of troops, one third less than theirs. This action will be ever memorable from the loss of the two Commanders. Wolfe was first wounded, without his troops losing their confidence and resolution. Carried out of the ranks, and fainting, he came to himself upon hearing, *They fly*. He asked with eagerness, *who?* and was answered, The French: he replied, *Thank God, I die satisfied*: and expired. Montcalm survived this illustrious adversary no longer than to experience the mortification of being a witness to the defection of his troops. He was mortally wounded in the retreat, and expired with equal glory. He had even the opportunity of displaying a greater degree of heroism, by attending still to the glory of his country, and generously giving his opinion to return to the field of battle. This advice, which was also that of the Marquis of Vaudreuil, might have recovered matters:

matters : a Council of war determined differently ; 1759.
and, notwithstanding the reinforcements received,
we retired to the distance of ten leagues. The Che-
valier de Levy, who had hastened from his post to
succeed Montcalm, censured the weakness of this
step. We were ashamed of it, and wished to return,
in order to regain the victory : it was too late,
Quebec, three parts of which was destroyed by the
canon of the fleet, had just capitulated. The Che-
valier de Ramsay, who had shut himself up in it, was
only allowed four hours for the treaty.

18 Sept.

To these two conquests in the new world, were
added two naval victories, which carried the glory of
the Minister, who directed so many fortunate and
well-planned operations, to the highest pitch. The
only resource of France, was the invasion meditated
by Marshal Belleisle, and for which immense prepa-
rations were making. The navy of Brest not being
strong enough to support it, it was thought of adding
that of Toulon to it, and all the ships able to go to
sea were fitting out in this last port.

But although, since the taking of Minorca, the
English had no fixed port but at Gibraltar—a foreign
road, where vessels are far from riding in safety, and
cannot weather certain winds—it was decided that
this junction should be prevented.

Pitt was informed by his spies, that no more than
twelve ships of the line could come out of Toulon :
he did not neglect putting the superiority of number
on the side of the English, and sent fourteen. They
were intrusted to Boscawen, the Admiral who had be-
gun the war. He had just conquered Louisbourg,
and had all the boldness necessary for such an enter-
prize. He presented himself even at the mouth of

1759. the port, blocked up the French Squadron there, and, to provoke them to come out, sent some of his ships, with orders to burn two vessels that were at anchor in the great road. It was again M. de la Clue, who commanded. He was not more moved at this insult, than he had previously shew'n himself at Carthage; and though the enemy's ships, in a dead calm, and unable to execute their rash enterprize, were very ill treated from the fire of the batteries, and obliged to be towed away, he suffered them to manoeuvre, and retire very quietly. This accident, and the bad weather, forced the English Admiral to retire to Gibraltar, in order to refit. He made no doubt but that his rival would take advantage of this circumstance, to put to sea, and attempt the passage of the straits; but he had determined, that he should not do this with impunity, and had therefore stationed two of his swiftest sailers to watch him, one toward the coast of Spain, and the other on that of Africa.

M. de la Clue, instead of seizing this opportunity to follow Boscawen, who could not then have attacked him with advantage, would not set sail till he was certain of having no Englishman in sight. He lost a time that was precious to him, for carrying his orders into execution, and gave the enemy leisure to appear again in force. The French fleet was in very good condition, and well able to make head against the enemy. If it be the duty of an historian to save from oblivion the names of those heroes who have been useful to their country, he is no less obliged to hold up to public execration the names of those base Commanders who have shrunk from their duty. The French fleet consisted of the following ships.

Ships,

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<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Captains M. M.</i>
<i>L'Océan,</i> —	80 —	De la Clue, Commodore.
<i>Le Redoutable,</i>	74 —	De Saint Agnan, Captain.
<i>Le Centaure,</i>	74 —	De Sabran Gramont.
<i>Le Souverain,</i>	74 —	Panat.
<i>Le Guerrier,</i>	74 —	De Rochemore.
<i>Le Temeraire,</i>	74 —	Castillon the elder.
<i>Le Fantafque,</i>	64 —	Castillon the younger.
<i>Le Modeste,</i>	64 —	Du Loc de Montvert.
<i>Le Lion,</i> —	64 —	Colbert Turgis.
<i>Le Triton,</i> —	64 —	Venet.
<i>Le Fier,</i> —	50 —	Marquison.
<i>L'Oriflamme,</i>	50 —	Dabon.

FRIGATES.

<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Captains. M. M.</i>
<i>La Chimère,</i> 26 —	Faucher.
<i>La Minerve,</i> 24 —	The Chevalier d'Oppede.
<i>La Gracieuse,</i> 24 —	The Chevalier Fabri.

On the evening from the 16th to the 17th of August, M. de la Clue, by keeping close to the coast of Barbary, had slipped into the channel; and was got almost beyond the coast of Ceuta, when he was perceived by the *Gibraltar*, an English ship upon the scout: it was about eight o'clock when this ship gave the signal, and before ten Boscawen was already under sail, and out of the bay. On that very night, not by a gust of wind, as the timid author of the *Annals of Lewis XV.* officiously pretends, but, as the French Commander says, *by a fatality for which*

1759. *no reason can be given* *, five of his ships and three frigates had parted company; so that the next morning, at day-break, he saw himself surrounded only by the *Redoutable*, the *Centaure*, and the *Modeste*. In this weakened state, committing one fault upon another, the enemy came up with him. If he wanted conduct, it must be owned that he did not want courage. His ship fired two thousand five hundred shot—one of his legs was carried off, and the other dangerously wounded; but the only Captain who acquired all the glory of the day, was M. de Sabran Grammont, who, though he was the first that surrendered, did not strike till after he had performed prodigies of valour, and after having been successively attacked by five ships, the last of which was the Admiral's of 90 guns,

17 Aug.

The brave defence made by this Captain, keeping the enemy engaged till night came on, the fleet might have been saved, if it had been managed with skill and conduct. On the contrary, Count Panat and M. de Rochemore thought proper to take refuge at Lisbon. This defection discouraged both the Captains and the crews: the action was now changed into a meer disgraceful rout; the *Océan* and the *Redoutable* were burnt the next day, and the *Téméraire* and *Modeste* taken.

Certainly, if there were ever any occasion for a Court Martial, it ought to have been holden on account of this engagement off Lagos, wherein cowardice, ignorance, treachery to one's country, forgetfulness, and infraction of orders, were conspicuous on all

* See his letter to the Count de Merle, Ambassador from France to the Court of Lisbon, dated from Lagos, the 18th of August 1759.

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sides. It would undoubtedly have been a great hardship for M. de la Clue, after having lost both his legs, to lose his head also; his crutches might serve as an answer to his accusers, and perhaps justify him fully. But this inquiry was indispensable, to learn for what reason, in a summer's night, in which there is no absolute darkness—with an easterly wind, which never blows very hard,—in a narrow channel, where the current running in a direct line, prevents the ships from losing the track, and makes them drive very little—three frigates should have separated, whose orders were, never to lose sight of the Admiral's ship, to observe his signals in order to repeat them, to keep constantly sailing round the Squadron, to watch over the whole, to see that they were in good order and safe;—for what reason, five of the weakest ships, and consequently in the center of the division, and supported by the strongest on the right and left, lost themselves in such a manner, as that at day-break no traces of them could be found, nor during the whole morning, till noon, when they went to meet them;—for what reason, after the action, at a time when it became more essential than ever to keep together, in order to make head against an enemy of double the strength, two ships should take upon themselves to leave the rest, under pretence of attending to their own safety;—for what reason in a word, the others, instead of fighting, to secure a retreat by this means, or at least to make the enemy pay dear for the victory, should prefer to be set on fire by running aground, or suffer themselves to be taken at anchor. These inquiries would be endless, were we to enumerate all the irregular and disgusting things that happened during the action, and its consequences.

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M. de Berryer's disposition was much inclined to enter into the disquisition of facts; he was a Judge naturally severe and malevolent; but he was still more attached to his post, than to the administration of justice, and he did not choose to incur the displeasure of all the Nobility of Provence, to whom these Captains were allied. Besides, he was aware that this would be setting the whole navy against him, many officers of which, equally culpable, were interested that no inquiries should be made, lest they should afterwards extend to them. In a word, Marshal Conflans, the only resource of France in this instant, was to be indulged, who, from an inward persuasion of his incapacity and cowardice, opposed there being an example made, which might become too dangerous for himself. The only punishment inflicted upon the criminals was, at their return from Gibraltar, to be hooted by the populace of Toulon; while, on the contrary, they saw M. de Sabran caressed in this port, at Paris, and at Court, and honoured with a pension from the King.

The defeat off Lagos was a fatal check, and a very bad omen for the rest of the projected enterprize; but the expences were too much advanced to stop; the question was, to obtain some compensation, in order to conclude a peace which should not be too disadvantageous, and of which we were very desirous. All hopes were lost of recovering the possession of the electorate of Hanover: the only resource left after the battle of Minden, was to go and pass the treaty at London; and the preparations were accordingly pursued.

George II. on his part, made his Parliament acquainted with the designs of France—obtained subsidies

1759.

sidies from them, proportioned to the vigorous defence that was required; and, beside the number of fleets already sent out of the ports of England, three more squadrons set sail after each other. Commodore Boyce was stationed off Dunkirk, to intercept, or engage every vessel that should come out of that road. Rear Admiral Rodney bombarded the Havre, where magazines of provisions had been formed, and flat bottomed boats constructed for the embarkation of troops. In a word, Hawke appeared before Brest with a formidable fleet, superior to the forces the Marshal could put to sea. The cruising of the first of these officers was so exact, and so well kept up, that the little squadron, intrusted to Thurot, whose orders were signed since the 17th of June, could not set sail till the 15th of October. Rodney continued firing for fifty-two hours without interruption, and with such success, as to oblige the inhabitants to quit the town, though 700 men were incessantly employed in giving assistance, and extinguishing the flames. A great many boats were burnt, and the magazines very much damaged; in a word, the preparations in this quarter were nearly reduced to nothing. Admiral Hawke blocked up so narrowly the port of Brest, for some time, that no ship could enter, nor go out of the entrance of the harbour, without being taken by him. He carried off from the anchorage, under the forts of the coast, four vessels, which were insinuating themselves between the shore and the coast. These vessels were carrying canon and naval stores for the Marshal's fleet; which were obliged to be replaced, and contributed still to retard his departure.

These

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These disappointments occasioned the execution of the project of invasion to be deferred till the season when the winds should oblige the English to remove. All the troops, to the number of forty battalions, were assembled on the coast of Britany, at Vannes, and at Nantz, under the command of the Duke d'Aiguillon. There was another army at Dunkirk, commanded by M. de Chevert; and some detachments from the King's household were to share the event. M. de Frobert, a Brigadier, had embarked with about eight hundred men in Thurot's squadron, which was gone for the north of Ireland. His object was to reconnoitre the coast with care, and, by forming a party among the malecontents, to pave the way for a descent. We may judge by his instructions, that we were not without hopes of some intrigues from the partizans of the House of Stuart, and that Scotland was the place where success was chiefly expected. These instructions contained a prohibition of making any attempt against that kingdom; and ordered, that if he were obliged to land there, he should do it as a friend—should only make use of arms in his own defence—and even, in case he should be treated as an enemy, should take nothing without paying for it*.

On this occasion, it was again seen upon how trifling a circumstance the destiny of the most formidable empires depends. France in her distress

* See *The Journal of the navigation of a French squadron, which set out from the port of Dunkirk, under the command of Captain Thurot, on the 15th of October 1759, with several detachments of the French and Swiss guards, and of various other corps; by the Marquis de Bragelonne, Major of the detachment.*

might

1759.

might have made England tremble, and have reduced her to a state of humiliation, in the midst of her prosperity, if Marshal Conflans, without losing time—at the instant when the storm, on the 12th of October, obliged Admiral Hawke to quit the bay, and go back as far as Plymouth—had come out of port, collected his fleet, and attempted a descent, it would have been impossible for the enemy to oppose him; or at least they could not have done it but at the greatest disadvantage, with a fleet fatigued by a six months' cruise—lately battered and dispersed by a hurricane, which had put it in the most deplorable condition—against one that was fresh, well equipped, composed of numerous crews, and of the choice of the navy. But this Commander was not a man capable of acting in so vigorous a manner; and the Minister for the marine department was too weak, and too irresolute, to determine as soon as it was necessary; he was desirous of ascertaining previously, whether the English Admiral were really gone into port. The Marshal afterwards refused to put to sea, till he was equipped with all the parade and pomp of his dignity. These delays continued till the 19th of November, when the French Squadron at length came out. Admiral Hawke was soon informed of this, by the ships kept upon the look out. Having been forced a third time, by contrary winds, to re-enter Torbay, he perceived the necessity of opposing any attempts the French fleet might make. Though his fleet was very much weakened by circumstances, and from thirty ships of the line was reduced to twenty-three, yet he braved the fury of the elements, and exerted all his skill to overcome the difficulties, and reach the bay of Quiberon, where he supposed
he

1759. he should meet with the adversary. The joy was exceeding great among his people, when they perceived the French fleet; which, on the contrary, was seized with consternation and dismay. Before the fleet had come out of Brest, it was publicly said that it would be beaten, and therefore we need not be surprised that it was. As soon as the Marshal was informed that the enemy were in sight, he immediately fled, thinking, by drawing near the coast, which was full of sand-banks and rocks, to prevent his being pursued; and taking it for granted, that his adversary would not dare to bid defiance to these shelves, with which his pilots were unacquainted. By this shameful artifice, his rear-guard was cut off, which sustained all the fire of the English, and was crushed. In this general rout, infinitely worse than that off Lagos, the historian, on whichever side he looks, cannot find the least satisfaction, but in the noble defence of M. de Saint André du Verger, and in paying to his memory the tribute he deserves. This Commodore, who commanded the division we are now speaking of, mounted the *Formidable* of 80 guns: he was fortunate enough not to be witness to the termination of this fatal day, being killed in the action, as well as his brother, and his ship did not strike till after the loss of half her crew, and when she was so much damaged by the firing, and so full of holes, that the English had a great deal of trouble to bring her home. In every other part of the fleet our indignation is excited—in one place it is the Chevalier de Beaufremont, proud of his name, and yet supporting it so ill, who mistaking a signal for rallying, for the signal of running away, crowded all the sail he could, and, by an infamous defection, drew
along

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along with him to the island of Aix all the vanguard under his command, without having fired a shot. In another place we observe a division, which, emboldened by terror, manœuvred with wonderful dexterity, penetrated into a river, where it was thought impossible that frigates should anchor, and exerted incredible efforts to conceal it's disgrace, which ought to have been displayed to insure it's glory. In the center we see Marshal Conflans—after having fired a few broadsides, without having a man killed or wounded on board, or without having suffered the least damage—running aground with the *Soleil Royal*, of 80 guns, and two thousand men—the most superb ship belonging to his Majesty, quite new, with every advantage of construction—and ordering her to be burnt in his presence, while he was at the same time employed in a sordid attention to his domestic concerns*.

It was the destiny of France, that in this dreadful catastrophe every thing should concur to it's disaster. M. de Kersaint, who was till then thought to be a good officer, tacked about with the *Thésée*, of 74 guns, which he commanded. He forgot to order the port-holes of his upper tier to be shut. He was told of this mistake in time, but being ashamed that a pilot should teach him his duty, he persisted in leaving them open; and when the vessel engaged, he was swallowed up, with 800 men of his crew; twenty of them only were saved, by the humanity of the enemy, who gave information of this fault, which

* It is pretended that he caused the lace to be taken off his liveries, and sent his people away with their off-reckoning; in order that their wages, paid hitherto by the King, might not fall upon him.

a common

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a common sailor, upon his second expedition, would not have committed, and which he thought to have buried in oblivion along with himself. The *Superbe* shared the same fate, but in a more honourable way, by a broadside from the enemy. The *Juste*, having lost M. de St. Allouarn, her Captain, who was killed in the action, as well as his brother, was entirely destroyed, crew and all, by the ignorance of the coasting pilot. In a word, the flight of the Commander occasioned the loss of six ships of the line in his fleet*; that is to say, cost him more than the most obstinate naval combat would have done. This engagement was called the battle of Conflans, from the name of the cowardly Marshal; undoubtedly, that the memory of it should not be lost, and that he should be for ever held out to the execration of posterity. It proved the ruin of the navy under Lewis XV. as the battle of la Hogue had been under Lewis XIV. which was weakened by nearly half its force in four years time, from the loss of twenty-seven ships of the line destroyed, burnt, or carried into England†. It was impossible that ship-building should be carried on with sufficient dispatch to fill up this deficiency. These constructions were themselves necessarily slackened from the want of materials; for, as they could only be brought upon trading vessels, and as

* *Le Soleil Royal*, 80 guns, burnt by M. de Conflans's orders; *L'Intrépide*, of 80, taken; *le Héros*, of 74, burnt; *le Thésée*, of 74, sunk; *le Superbe*, of 74, sunk; and *le Juste*, of 70, split upon a rock and lost.

† *Le Lys*, *l'Alcide*, *l'Espérance*, *l'Arc-en-ciel*, *le Raisonné*, *le Reliqueux*, *le Foudroyant*, *l'Orphée*; to these eight, add the five at Lisbon, the six of the action off Lagos, the six of the engagement of Conflans, the *Opiniâtre*, and the *Greenwich*.

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commerce was unprotected, it fell in proportion. Even the neutral bottoms did not dare to bring the materials necessary for this purpose, on account of the risks they ran, which exceeded their profits. The French were therefore obliged to give up the fitting out of any more armaments; they confined themselves to those that were essential for the victualling and support of their colonies, the number of which decreasing likewise, the fleets became less necessary. The English remained absolute masters of the sea in Europe. It was henceforward forbidden to the vessels of Toulon to go beyond the limits of the Mediterranean; and the shattered remains of M. de la Clue's squadron did not come in from the other ports, into that of Toulon, till at the end of six months. This was the third time that this Commodore returned. As to the ships in the river Vilaine, they were blocked up there; one was lost, the others rotted: and this division, the crews and support of which cost enormous sums, was obliged to be laid up till some favourable opportunity of turning it to advantage. The Gentlemen of the Royal Navy, who had found means to get into this river, decided, in several councils of war, that it was impossible to get out of it; and the care of these ships was given up to some officers of the India Company, who undertook to save them.

If, indeed, the English ruled over the ocean, by the superiority of their forces, they shewed themselves worthy of that empire, by the manner in which they mastered the waves. The rigour of the season, the inconstancy and tempestuousness of the element, did not prevent them from insulting our coasts during the whole winter. They anchored in the road of

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the island of Aix, to see if there were not any attack to be made against the division that had taken refuge there; but the ships, to the number of eight, had got up the river. The alarm raised was equally great; and upon this occasion, again, if they had been more enterprizing, they would have succeeded in their attempt, from the consternation that prevailed, and the little possibility there was of opposing them. They bombarded the town of Croissic, and in view of it, and under the canon of the batteries, endeavoured to fish up the magnificent artillery of the *Soleil Royal*, which they claimed, as a trophy annexed to their victory. They landed successively at the little island of Dieu, at the island of Met, which they seized upon, and at Belleisle, from whence being at first repulsed, they succeeded on a second attempt. We were obliged to bear all these humiliations, for want of a navy to prevent them.

An unsuccessful war commonly occasions several revolutions in Courts. The subjects are constantly in hopes of improving their situation by the change of Ministry; and the Sovereign is always ready to impute the false measures, often adopted in Council, to the disgraced Ministers. During the unfortunate period, the disasters of which we are describing, there were several changes of this kind at Versailles. The first, however, cannot be attributed either to the discontent of the nation, or to that of the Monarch, but was the effect of the revenge of a woman, jealous, and despised. We have seen in what manner Madame de Pompadour had rapidly raised the Abbé de Bernis, from a state of mediocrity to the height of honours: he had been created Cardinal a long time since;—she thought that a degree of favour so marked,

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marked, and so long continued, deserved unlimited returns of gratitude ;—she imagined, that though her charms had no longer any effect upon the Monarch, yet they ought still to preserve the same empire over his Eminence ;—she perceived the contrary, and was exasperated ; but before she disgraced the Cardinal, in the last conversation she had with him, she made him acquainted with the height of her affection for him, and exerted her last efforts to secure his fidelity ; but found him still cool and inflexible ;—unable then any longer to keep her rage within bounds, she broke out into violent reproaches, and declared to him, that she would soon make him re-enter into that state of obscurity, from whence she had raised him. The day before his disgrace, he assisted, notwithstanding, at the King's supper. Lewis XV. ashamed of the order he had just signed, but subdued by the will of his imperious mistress, looked at him from time to time, but turned his eyes away as soon as he met those of the Cardinal ; so humiliating are the looks of innocence to those who are guilty of an unjust action. The Courtiers, ever attentive to the least indications of a disgrace, were too well acquainted with the character of their master, not to foresee what was going to happen. The rumour of it was spread about that very evening, and accordingly the next day M. de Bernis was banished to his abbey of Saint Medard. Having only remained sixteen months at the head of the department for foreign affairs, he had had no opportunity to distinguish himself in it ; and the only memorable epocha during his negotiations, was the treaty of Versailles, so fatal at that time, but the fruits of which were to be reaped at a later period.

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The disgraced Cardinal had leisure, during his retirement, to make reflections upon the instability of favour, and the perfidy of the Court. He grew sensible of the insignificancy of greatness, and of the almost constantly sinister end of men in an inferior sphere, too precipitately raised to honours. He turned his thoughts towards the church, the dignities of which are more solid; was ordained priest, and prepared himself for a prelacy. He could not however obtain one till after the death of the favourite. He was then appointed Archbishop of Alby, where he gave himself up entirely to the functions of his holy ministry, till, forgetting his philosophy, and his religious principles, he once more plunged into the bustle of affairs; but cautiously, at a distance from the Court, in a place, and in a species of negotiations suitable to his rank, constantly refusing a more brilliant post, from apprehension of a second disgrace.

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Cardinal de Bernis was succeeded in the Council, and in his department, by the Count de Stainville, created at the same time Duke of Choiseul. This man, born, like his predecessor, with a very moderate share of fortune, had been early actuated by a principle of ambition infinitely more active. Impelled with the noble desire of adding fresh glory to a name already illustrious, he had entered at first into the military profession; but his genius being less inclined to arms than to politics, he soon studied the art of negotiations. Sent at first Ambassador to Rome, that Court had supplied him the means of improving his natural talent for intrigues; and being afterwards appointed Minister at Vienna, the House of Austria, to which he had the

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honour of being allied, thought to find in him a zealous servant at the Court of France, and formed a powerful party in his favour.

Thus he laid the foundations of his elevation. Still, however, he might not have succeeded, had he not, contrary to the frankness and natural magnanimity of his disposition, condescended to a perfidy, which he no doubt hoped to bury in that obscurity in which it had been planned. A Lady of the Court, one of his relations, began to please the King; the connection increased, and she already received letters from his Majesty, and made assignations with him. A Courtier, less artful than the Duke of Choiseul, would have considered this event as the most fortunate opportunity of advancement, and of obtaining his end. He would not have failed to encourage the passion of the august lover, and attempt to supplant the established favourite, by this new object, who seemed to have more ready and more irresistible means of triumphing. The Duke de Choiseul thought otherwise; he adopted the surest method, and chose rather to sacrifice his relation, whose sway might not be lasting, to Madame de Pompadour, whose power increased, and acquired greater consistency by time. He was the confidant of his relation, who consulted him upon her behaviour. One day, when Lewis XV. whose love was carried to the highest pitch, had, by a pressing note, demanded a decisive interview, the Duke de Choiseul, who assisted this lady in writing her answer, pretended as if he wished to reflect upon the answer to be given to this, took it away with him, and, being in possession

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of it, went to the Marchioness: "Madam," said he to her, "you imagine that I am one of your enemies; you do me the injustice to believe, that I am employed with them in forming secret conspiracies to deprive you of the King's favour. Look over this note, and judge for yourself." He shewed her, at the same time, the tender and passionate note of his Majesty, told her how he came in possession of it, and represented to her the risks to which he exposed himself for her service, declaring, at the same time, that he preferred the good of the State, and the happiness of his Master, to his own greatness; and that he thought her more proper than any other person to fulfil these two important objects. Madame de Pompadour was too well acquainted with the character of Lewis XV. not to be sure of bringing him back to herself whenever she received timely notice. When she was informed of this intrigue, she soon put an end to it, and threw upon her rival all the odium of this discovery, and the punishment which the perfidious confidant would have deserved. From that time, he became the creature, and acquired the confidence of the favourite. He was young, ardent, and intrepid; he repaired the faults of Cardinal de Bernis, sealed his reconciliation with the Marchioness in such a manner, as to make her believe that her charms had lost nothing of their former influence, and thus paved the way for himself to arrive to the supreme power, which he inherited after her death. At this instant he found in the Council a formidable opponent, who, foreseeing the part his competitor was going to act, would not at least suffer him to rule in his presence, and contradicted

tradicted him, as much from motives of jealousy, as from difference of opinion, and natural antipathy.

The Secretary of State for the Marine department was then most exposed to the criticisms of speculators, and the abuse of the Parisians; they had detested him as Lieutenant of Police, and despised him as Minister. His office saw with concern at its head an obscure citizen—who had not even obtained that place by his eminent merit—who would not let himself be governed—and from whom there was neither favour nor advancement to be expected. In a word, the Duke de Choiseul, desirous of fixing himself more firmly, of making creatures of his own, and of acquiring a degree of renown which his department could not procure him, would have been pleased at the expulsion of this member from the body of Secretaries of State, whom his brethren were ashamed of, and whose spoils he already consumed in imagination. The blow was given: his protectress had consented to forsake him; when an incident, contrived on purpose to accelerate his disgrace, put a stop to it. M. Berryer saw, with well-founded regret, the ships shut up in the river Vilaine, a lasting monument of the cowardice of the navy. Every day he had fresh demands, from indiscreet officers, who pretended that this fugitive squadron ought to be kept up with as much eclat as a squadron equipped and ready to sail for the protection and honour of the flag. In an instant of ill-humour, to which this Minister was very subject, he paid little attention to his expressions, and answered them harshly. The officers, whose pride was not abated

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by humiliations, assembled in a body, and sent him an answer in an insolent letter, in which, thinking to justify themselves by dint of bravadoes, they had the boldness to extol their manœuvre, and demanded to be tried by a court-martial. The whole body of the navy at the same time sided with them, and as they belonged to the most illustrious Houses at Court, the circumstance excited a clamour, and a ferment which was thought dangerous. The other Secretaries of State, not choosing that their dignity should thus be called in question, in the person of one of their brethren, united themselves in his favour, and solicited that he might preserve his post. There was no court-martial, but all those Captains were removed from their command, and their ships were disarmed. M. Villars de la Brosse, the oldest officer, the author of the letter, and the most haughty man among them, was ordered to go to the Castle of Saumur.

Besides, as it had been settled in Council, that the navy should be confined to armaments of mere necessity, and should otherwise be kept in the most complete state of inaction, the only person necessary for this department, was a severe, exact, bustling, and economical Minister, who would not spend much money, would reform a great many abuses, and especially, who would establish order in the naval accounts. This was the real talent of M. Berryer; his post became thus very suitable to him, and he excited no man's jealousy. The Duke de Choiseul was perfectly sensible, that the naval department was not proper for him at that time.

It was principally upon the post of Comptroller General that the storms broke, and succeeded each other

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other with rapidity. This office had received three different masters, alternately succeeding each other, in the course of the same year. M. Boulogne having only trivial and unavailing resources, a man of genius was wished for, capable of suggesting others. M. de Silhouette, whose reputation was previously announced among a certain set of people, was thought to be the person. Born, as it was said, with a spirit of observation, he had from his earliest youth been used to application; he had nearly passed through all public employments; had travelled; had written upon morality, philosophy, finances, and administration; he was a Counsellor in the Parliament of Metz, and Master of Requests; he belonged to several corps; he had a great deal of credit and solidity, and was in the service of the first Prince of the blood: at the same time that he was Chancellor to the Duke d'Orleans, he was Commissary to the East India Company; and the talents which he displayed in these two places, analogous to the one he was raised to, gave the highest idea of his abilities. The enthusiasm was general when he was appointed. He began by operations which announced invention, equity, strict honesty, and a sincere desire to repair the mischiefs, to put a stop to the depredations, and to prevent the King's revenues from being converted to the profit and cupidity of the Great.

After having reformed some abuses introduced in the farms, he created seventy thousand shares, each of one thousand livres *, settled upon these farms,

* Upwards of forty pounds sterling.

1759. to which he gave up half the profits that were enjoyed by the *Soixantes*.

This operation of finance, which produced in four-and-twenty hours seventy-two millions †, was much applauded, inasmuch as it did not burthen the State, and affected only the Farmers of the revenue, enriched at it's expence. It conciliated the minds of the people more to him, as it seemed disinterested and generous on his part, since he was attached to this body of men by the ties of blood, and of the strictest friendship ‡.

His declaration, which suspended several privileges concerning the taxes, drew upon him the blessings of the country people, and made them consider him as their father. In a word, his declaration, which tended to the reducing of pensions, the multiplicity of which was become an enormous burthen to the kingdom, by alienating from him the minds of the Courtiers, and of the most illustrious persons, proved, that he was not afraid of making himself enemies; and that in doing his duty, and for the public good, he had defiance to cabals, to power, and to influence. The applause then became universal, and even those who inwardly cursed him, were obliged to join in it. All the public papers resounded with his praises, and the Court, delighted to find, in these critical circumstances, a Comptroller General agreeable to the nation, put an unlimited confidence in him. He enjoyed the singular honour of being called to the

† Three millions sterling.

‡ M. de Lage, his relation, his heir, and residuary legatee, was one of the Farmers General.

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Council of State four months after his appointment, and became there the oracle with respect to his department. Marshal Belleisle, who was the cause of his elevation, supported him with all his influence, so that whatever he proposed was accepted. Then it was that his elevation only served to make his insignificancy more perceptible. Instead of the brilliant projects that were expected from him, for the relief and prosperity of France, he only produced tyrannical and ill-contrived operations, calculated to make the kingdom lose it's credit abroad, and to ruin it at home.

A Bed of Justice holden at Versailles for the registering of his famous edict of subsidy—a ceremony always odious, and an outrage committed against the laws and the nation—began to spread the alarm; this was increased upon the perusal of this infernal work, in which was discovered an assemblage of taxes of all sorts, such as had never been borne, in the most disastrous times. The Courts of Justice protested against the form, and against the matter; so that the edict was not at first carried into execution; and the public credit having received an alarming shock from it, it became impossible to procure, in the usual manner, the funds required in these exigencies. Not one financier would accept of anticipated assignments upon uncertain incomes. M. de Silhouette at last resorted to the extreme and unheard-of resource of ransacking all the public coffers, of carrying off all the money from them, and of suspending for a twelve-month the payment of the bills of the farms, and the draughts upon them, and the reimbursement of the capitals which were to have been made from the
Royal

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Royal treasure, and from the sinking fund. At the same time he exhorted all the King's subjects to carry their plate to the Mint, to be converted into specie, to be applied for the good of the State, and induced his Majesty to set the example, by sending his own there. This was joining a ridiculous puerility to an atrocious act of despotism. His first operation annihilated confidence, by weakening the support of it; and at a time, too, when his second act publicly exposed our indigence, which policy should have made us conceal from foreigners. The public clamour was soon raised against him; the variation and inconsistency of his principles was detected; or rather it was clearly seen that he had no plans nor views of his own; that he was only endeavouring to extricate himself from the embarrassment of the moment, by plunging again into another of a more intricate nature. Thus he became the execration of that people, who had first idolized him. His name was even branded with infamy, by comparing him to *Cartouche*, *Raf-fiat*, and *Mandrin*. Some people did not take things in so serious a light, and jested about them. *Pictures à la Silhouette*, and *breeches à la Silhouette* were made; the outlines of the former being traced in the shade, and the want of pockets in the latter, were the stings of these witticisms; which shewed to what a state the Comptroller General had reduced individuals and their purses. It was impossible to preserve at the head of the finances a man in such discredit; and the circumstance that completed the indignation of the capital, was, not the philosophy, but the impudence with which he bore his disgrace. Before his elevation, modesty had been reckoned

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reckoned among his apparent good qualities: he lost it at a time when it was most necessary to him. He affected an arrogance and an ostentation already incredible for a man of his sort, but much more so in the state of humiliation he ought to have appeared in. Instead of retiring into the country, to bury his shame there, he hired a considerable hotel in the most brilliant part of the town; magnificent equipages, rich liveries, and a great number of servants, announced at his house a degree of opulence injurious to other people. It seemed as if he had raised himself upon the ruins of many of his fellow-citizens; he was served in plate, at a time when the greatest noblemen had only earthen-ware or china.

In imitation of the Monarch, all men did in reality carry their plate to the mint; the religious communities did not even dare to refuse theirs. The Clergy of *Nôtre Dame* having sent a deputation to his Majesty, to inquire how much of their plate they should send, the King replied, *All, except the sacred vessels.* In order more effectually to excite the emulation of those who were known to have plate, it was resolved that a list should be printed of those zealous citizens, that it should be inserted in the periodical papers, and be read at Versailles. This gratification of a childish vanity is an infallible mode in France. Even the courtezans were desirous of figuring upon this patriotic catalogue. There were, however, some prudent persons, who did not pique themselves upon it, and contented themselves with making the plate disappear from their tables. Others only carried a part of it. This concealment, added to the expences, the frauds, the failures, and the advantageous encouragements that are always given,

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given, in these sort of transmutations, reduced the expected resource from 12 millions*, in the whole, to a trifling matter. The violation of public deposits, and the breaking of engagements, by procuring for an instant sums in abundance, but which were soon consumed; was attended with fatal consequences.

Since the time of Samuel Bernard, the Court had always had a banker; that is to say, a man, who by his credit at home and abroad furnished them a speedy supply of money, upon which he profited. No well-ordered state, undoubtedly, would stand in need of such supports, or at least would reserve them for the unfrequent occasion of an extreme crisis. In France this is become an additional mode of encouraging the depredations of the Ministers, the rapacity of favourites, the prodigalities of the women, and of the Sovereign; and, in a word, a more immediate cause of ruin, and destruction. But this evil, which should have been repaired in time of peace, was become necessary in the present war, on account of the derangement of the finances.

M. de Montmartel, successor to Samuel Bernard, after having filled the same office for the space of twenty years, had prudently quitted it. Although he was worth forty millions† when he retired, he was not odious to honest men, as most of his profession are; he was, on the contrary, beloved by them, on account of the good use he made of his riches, and of the pecuniary services he rendered to those who had recourse to his purse. Besides, though born in ob-

* Near five hundred thousand pounds.

† Upwards of one million and a half sterling.

scurity,

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scurity, he was not ashamed of his extraction; he was modest, and tried by adversity, for being a companion in the disgrace of Le Blanc, Belle-Isle, and Sechelles, his personal merit had insured him a well-founded share of consideration. The King had several times solicited him to put himself at the head of the finances; but he did not choose to be Comptroller General, he only created those Ministers; and there are still letters from Lewis XV. preserved in his family, in which his Majesty consults him upon the choice of officers in this department.

His place, on account of the misfortunes of the kingdom, had been subdivided among several financiers. M. de la Borde, who had been lately a pedlar in the provinces, raised suddenly to the pinnacle of fortune by a creature of the Duke de Choiseul, to whom he had advanced money, in hopes of having it returned a hundred fold—was charged with the payment and maintenance of the land forces. M. Beaujon, who had been hanged in effigy at Bourdeaux for a monopoly, had insinuated himself into the favour of Madame de Pompadour, and, in conjunction with M. de Harvelay, Keeper of the Royal Treasury, M. Michel, Treasurer of the Artillery, and Goosens, a banker, had contracted with the King to furnish three millions* per month for the service of the navy; five hundred thousand livres† in the same space of time for that of the fortifications, and of the body of engineers; and a kind of douceur in advance, of two millions‡, to the Royal Treasury.

* One hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds.

† Near twenty-one thousand pounds.

‡ Upwards of eighty-three thousand pounds.

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Another evil, occasioned by the desperate stroke of M. de Silhouette, was the prolonging of the war, of which the enemies themselves began to grow tired. In the beginning of the winter, Prince Lewis of Brunswick, tutor to the young Stadtholder, had notified at the Hague, to the Ministers of France, Vienna, Russia, Sweden, and Poland, that he was commissioned by the Kings of England and Prussia, to tell them, that, being moved with the calamities of a war, which had lasted several years, they should think themselves wanting to the duties of humanity, and particularly to the tender concern they had for their respective subjects, if they neglected the means of putting a stop to so dreadful a scourge; that in this view, and with a design of manifesting the purity of their intentions, they declared themselves ready to send Plenipotentiaries to any convenient place that might be fixed upon, in order to treat about a solid and general peace. Mr. Pitt had repeated the same declaration at London, to the foreign Ministers.

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sters. But his Britannic Majesty, judging by the extravagant operations of the Comptroller General, that France was in the utmost distress, soon cooled, and these overtures went no farther. Perhaps, indeed, these offers were on his side only a kind of parody of the noble proceeding of Lewis XV. which had astonished all Europe, during the last war. George would not shew himself less generous, and thought he had acquitted himself by his declaration, probably less sincere than that of the French Monarch had been. Accordingly, his confidential Minister was too good a politician, not to know, that the law of the strongest, being the only one admitted between Kings, the Sovereign who is able to impose it, ought always to do it in such a manner, as not to be obliged one day to receive it. If England had adhered to this maxim, she would not be reduced to the critical situation she is in at present*. May France not commit the same fault in her turn!

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The year 1760 was therefore begun by fresh actions and losses, which continued and increased during the course of it. The death of the brave Thurot, which drew along with it the total ruin of his squadron, was the first check that France received. The plan of operations, which he had given in to Marshal Belleisle, and which that Minister had adopted, could only be eligible, inasmuch as it was connected with the grand expedition; but this having failed, the other could only become a very troublesome and very expensive scheme, without causing any great damage to the English. After beating about in the Northern seas, in the most rigorous season, and ex-

* In 1779, when this book was written.

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periencing all the horrors of shipwreck and famine, Thurot, surmounting all these obstacles, notwithstanding the representations of the officer commanding the land forces, would not return to France, without having done something. He spread the alarm on the coasts of the three kingdoms successively, and concluded with an attempt to land at Carrickfergus, in the North of Ireland. He succeeded, got possession of the town, and laid it under contribution; but the poverty and desertion of most of its inhabitants did not permit him to derive any considerable assistance from them. It would have been more advantageous to go to Belfast, a commercial town, at the distance of four leagues. Thurot proposed it, and if the General of the land forces had seconded his activity, there would have been time enough to execute this *coup de main* before the arrival of succours. But the misunderstanding between the Commanders—the conferences holden—together with the slowness of the march, and of the attack of the town and castle of Carrickfergus, rendered it impracticable. They re-imbarked hastily, and, a few hours afterwards, the squadron, reduced to three frigates*, met an English squadron, to appearance nearly of equal force†, but in reality superior in the number of guns, and men‡, besides being quite fresh.

After

* The *Maréchal de Belleisle* of 40 guns, on board of which was Thurot; the *Blonde* of 32, and the *Torpheore* of 26. This squadron, when it first sailed, consisted of three other vessels; the *Bégon* of 36, *P Amaranthe* of 18, and the *Faucon* of 8.

† The *Eclair* of 32 guns, the *Pallas* of 36, and the *Brillante* of 36.

‡ “These frigates,” says M. de Bragelonne, in his *Journal* (in which he is not favourable to Thurot) “were incomparably

“stronger

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After rather an obstinate engagement, in which Thurot was killed, the whole squadron was taken. Thus perished this intrepid mariner, who would have acquired the highest reputation, if his life had been prolonged. It was already established in France and England; and this singular man deserves that we should bestow a little time in giving an account of him.

Thurot was of Irish extraction. His grandfather was Captain in the army of James II. when that Monarch quitted his kingdom. He settled after that at Boulogne, fell into a state of poverty, and left a son, father to the one we are now speaking of.

Thurot went to sea very young. Being a prisoner in England at the same time as Marshal Belleisle, he made himself known to him, and begged the favour to be suffered to return to France with him, but could not obtain it; he then seized a boat, embarked in it by himself, and arrived at Calais at the same time as he. The Marshal, astonished at the boldness of the enterprize, conceived the highest opinion of him, and considered him as a man capable of being useful for some expedition in his profession, which required bravery and enthusiasm. As soon as it was determined at Versailles to attempt a descent, M. de

“stronger and better manned than ours; for though the *Belleisle* had 44 guns, her strength was not equal to this, and the stormy weather we had experienced at sea, had obliged us to put some of them under the hatchway, particularly our 18 pounders; and M. Thurot did not heave them up again for the action, so that we had no more than 32 or 34. It was the same thing in proportion with our other frigates. Besides, the English had a great many good sailors on board, and we had none, or scarce any.”

1760. Belleisle thought of Thurot, who having passed a part of his time during the peace in the enemy's country, had acquired an accurate knowledge of their coasts and situation; who, besides, had just gained still more experience in several cruizing expeditions with which he had been intrusted, and from which he had extricated himself, if not with any considerable share of profit, at least with a great deal of intrepidity. Excepting the mathematics, which he had studied regularly under an able master, he was very ignorant in every thing that did not concern his profession; but he had a good understanding, and a facility of expressing himself, which was of service to him, in persuading those whom it was his interest to bring into his schemes: he made use of this with success with the Ministry. Perhaps the plan, which was adopted at his instigation, would have succeeded better with regard to himself, if there had been more harmony between the land officers and him: but the misunderstanding was extreme; and M. de Flobert, who commanded the troops, threatened to put him in arrest, and deprive him of his commission. Thurot, enraged, wanted to kill him, and had already cocked his pistol at him, when the Brigadier was given to understand that he exceeded his powers. This quarrel was appeased, but not without a leaven of animosity, which was perpetually fermenting, occasioned continual piques, and turned to the detriment of the service. Thurot, who had more vivacity than precision in his ideas, had shewn a want of understanding upon this occasion. He ought to have foreseen what happened, and not undertaken an expedition, where the mixed authority might make it miscarry, by preventing him from giving

giving a loose to the rashness of his courage. This rashness was founded upon the good fortune which had always attended him, and extricated him from the most pressing dangers — upon his contempt for death, which he preferred to an ordinary life — and upon the immoderate desire he had to enrich himself, and to become illustrious : never losing sight of his object, and obstinate in the success of his operations, he set all obstacles at defiance. Unfortunately, being lavish of his own life, he was too much so of that of others. He used to apologize for his want of prudence, by a singular maxim, detestable in general, but suggested to him by the inward persuasion he had of his bravery and resources. He said, that a man of genius and courage ought never to use any precautions ; that he ought always to regulate himself upon the moment, otherwise, that he would display a shameful mistrust of himself. It is evident from hence, that modesty was not his favourite virtue ; he confounded it with timidity, pretending, that the man who possessed it, could never aspire to greatness. This indeed was what he aimed at, and he would have succeeded, if death had not stopped him, in the prime of life, and at a time when his career was beginning to grow brilliant.

Thurot had a quick conception, a great deal of fire, a fine figure, an amiable character ; was insinuating with his superiors, easy with his equals, but haughty when they attempted to lead. He shewed M. de Flobert, that he was not afraid of him, and that he knew how to preserve, at the expence of his life, the command which the King had intrusted him with. He was harsh with his inferiors, not so much from insensibility, as from his zeal for the discipline

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of the service ; he displayed all his compassion towards his enemies when prisoners. This gained him their hearts so much, that they were sometimes more attached to him than his own crew, who admired without loving him. They gave him too strong a proof of this in his last action, in which most of the Gunners of his frigate forsook their posts, and hid themselves, without a possibility of bringing them back. If we may credit the historian, his presumption was the cause of all the misfortunes of the day. Trusting to the lightness of the *Belleisle*, Thurot flattered himself, at first, that he should outfail the enemy ; he omitted, at least, to employ the time in preparing himself for the action, though pressed to it by every body ; he neglected every precaution, and even did not give the signal for joining, to the two other frigates, till he was obliged to make that for the attack ; so that he found himself alone against three, and the *Blonde* and the *Terpsycore* only came up to be taken. The defection of his Gunners rendering the artillery useless, he endeavoured to board ; but, having neither grenades nor grappling-irons prepared, failed in the attempt. The frigate then being in the most deplorable state, and the crew defenceless, exposed to the continual fire of the English, he was solicited to strike ; but was determined to receive one more broadside, that is to say, to give himself a chance for the last stroke of good fortune, which he expected, that of being killed upon the spot, without being exposed to the reproaches of the Ministry, or to the derision of the enemy ; and fortune at least granted him this last wish.

Notwithstanding his disaster, Thurot was regretted by the Court ; they were sensible of the want they were

1760.

were in of such men, for the safety and supply of their colonies. Unable, from that time, to support them by the King's squadrons, they had recourse to the assistance of the merchants; who placed so little confidence in his Majesty's officers, that M. de la Touche Tréville, Captain of a man of war, having put himself at the head of a company of financiers of Paris, to whom the King gave some of his ships upon very advantageous terms, the merchants of Bourdeaux refused to be concerned in them, under pretence, that the expedition was to be conducted by officers of the Royal navy; they declared, that they had a greater respect for Canon, Dolabaratz, and Cornic, than for de la Clue, Duquesne, or Conflans.

It was a matter of importance speedily to send provisions, money, troops, and ammunition to Canada. The Marquis de Vaudreuil, to make more pressing and more effectual solicitations, had sent M. Mercier, Commandant of the artillery, to France, in order to represent their situation, and to declare, that he did not despair of re-establishing affairs, and of retaking Quebec, if he were seconded in his plan. In hopes that the Court would be stricken with it, he conducted himself, in the ensuing campaign, in conformity to this supposition, and every thing was ready in the month of April. An army of ten thousand men was collected from the several troops under the command of the Chevalier de Levy, and began their march. They arrived within five leagues of Quebec, without the enemy suspecting it. They were almost come up with an advanced detachment of 1,500 men, which they would have surprized and routed, when an accident, impossible to be foreseen or prevented, disconcerted the whole project.

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The troops went upon boats, by a way made through the ice; and landed every night. A gunner, in jumping out of the boat, fell into the water; he laid hold of a flake of ice, and was carried with it down the stream. As he passed close to the shore of the city, he was seen by a centinel, who called out for help. The English flew to the assistance of the unfortunate man, laid hold of him, and found him motionless. They knew him by his uniform to be a French soldier. He was carried to the Governor's house, where means were employed to recall him to life, as much from motives of curiosity as of humanity. Spirituous liquors were given him: he recovered his speech—declared that an army of ten thousand men were at the gate of the capital—and expired. The projected *coup de main*, having thus miscarried, a regular siege was obliged to be formed. The Chevalier de Levy opened the trenches, and battered the town, but weakly. It was necessary to be sparing of the ammunition, till the arrival of the succours from France. At length a flag was perceived at a distance upon the river; no doubt was made of it's being a French flag. It proved to be an English Squadron; which no sooner arrived, than it detached a ship of 60 guns, and a large frigate, to seize upon the little French fleet, anchored near the camp, which served them for a magazine. The *Atbalante*, of 30 guns only, protected them, and gave them time to escape. She sustained a very unequal combat, and had the glory of making head against an enemy much superior in strength. She defended herself till at last she sank; and more than half the crew being killed, the rest were obliged to surrender prisoners of war. We may readily imagine, that the Captain of this frigate

was

27 May.

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was not one of the King's navy; he was in the service of the East India Company, and his name was M. *Vauquelin*.

This check obliged the French to raise the siege; and the succours from Europe, consisting of six ships only, having been intercepted, it was followed by the loss of all Canada, which was intirely reduced in the space of a few months. The good-humour of the French made them soon comfort themselves for this loss; it was said, that it was an expence saved, and that this colony, which produced nothing, had cost more than a hundred millions* since the war. This mode of thinking was particularly adopted by M. Berryer, who measured objects according to the narrowness of his own ideas. He was delighted to get rid of this one, which gave him nothing but great concern. In the same point of view, he supported the loss of Pondicherry with equal coolness.

Since the departure of Messieurs d'Aché and Lally, there were none but dismal accounts received from those countries; and it could scarce be otherwise. The delay of the succours, that had been determined to be sent to India since 1755, and which did not set out till 1757,—a considerable diminution of the troops, ships, and money, intended for this expedition, but applied to other purposes, on account of the pressing exigencies of the State—the choice of the Chiefs, the result of which would soon be a personal misunderstanding, and afterwards a general disunion among the subalterns—all these circumstances made well-informed people presume, that unless a miracle took

* Upwards of four millions sterling.

place,

3 Sept.

1760. place, France would also be humbled in that part of the world, and shamefully expelled from it.

M. de Sechelles, who, as Comptroller General, had the India Company in his department, had, in the King's name, from the beginning of the war, persuaded the Company to continue their trade, with the strongest assurances of his Majesty's protection. Accordingly, Count Lally, initiated in this administration as Syndic, and appointed to command the troops that were to be sent there, held early conferences with that Minister. It was agreed to give him three thousand men, six millions *, and three men of war, to which should be added such ships of the East as could be fitted out for service. The state of the forces the English had in India, of which an account had been procured, did not require any greater force in 1755. But this nation, ever active, had not remained idle, like her rival, and France, far from diminishing the reinforcements, ought rather to have augmented them, at the distance of two years after the time first appointed for sending them. On the contrary, at the moment of departure, two entire battalions, four millions †, and two King's ships, were retrenched; that is to say, two thirds of the whole. The General, exasperated, refused to embark; he was ordered not to recede, and promised, that this deficiency should be made up to him the following year, which was by no means the same thing.

5 March,
1757.

However this may be, he set sail with M. d'Aché, who, on his part, had begun by a bad manœuvre, which retarded the expedition for two months. Every

* Two hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

† Between one and two hundred thousand pounds.

month

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month is precious in a naval expedition. There were still more delays and other negligences during the voyage, so that the Squadron did not anchor at the island of France till about eight months after it's departure from Europe, though the voyage may be completed with a Squadron in four months, and ought never to take up more than six, with all sorts of impediments that can be imagined. However this may be, there were fresh delays in this colony; M. d'Aché wanted to wait there the favourable monsoon*; when it was decided to set sail, in a general Council, after a declaration made by the principal persons of the Island of France, that the colony would be in want of provisions, and would not be able to furnish any subsistence to the ships crews, nor to the land forces, till a more favourable season for the departure. He therefore set sail, but soon stood in for the island of Bourbon; and, after having beaten about the sea for three months more, he fell in with the English Squadron sent from Europe, which, more diligent than he, had just joined the ships of Admiral Pocock. It was then perceived, how necessary it would have been to use greater dispatch, since six weeks earlier this communication would have been intercepted—the honour of the flag would have been maintained upon the coast of Comorandel—the enemy would have been obliged to quit it—and we should have triumphed over them, during the whole war, in the peninsula of India. Two actions, on the contrary, were the result, which turned

27 Jan.
1758.29 April,
1758.24 March.
1758.

* In India, the general winds, which blow six months from the north, and six months from the south, are called *monsoons*.

1760.

to the disadvantage of the French, and forced M. d'Aché shamefully to regain the Island of France, to remain a twelvemonth without daring to shew himself in those seas, in which he only appeared again to be beaten a third time; and to run away in full sail faster than he had come, and by this occasioned the loss of Pondicherry, the only bulwark we had remaining upon the coast.

In the account of the war in 1756, in which the navy has so considerable a share, we shall attach ourselves particularly to what concerns it. We have observed, that the subject of our navy is the worst part of all our historians, even of Voltaire, who does not reason upon it with any accuracy. To discuss this point, it is necessary to be conversant with sea terms, and to acquire a knowledge of all parts of the service, otherwise, the journals of the Commanders of the several naval actions will become, in the hands of those who consult them, a source of errors and historical blunders. We have endeavoured to take precautions against this inconvenience, by making ourselves well acquainted with the matter, from informations received from people of the profession. It is in the same view, that, besides the accounts of different kinds, we have collected of the three engagements of M. d'Aché, and of his conduct in India, we have also consulted several persons concerned, and witnesses of these maritime actions.

In avoiding, as usual, long and minute descriptions, more tedious in the accounts of these engagements than of those upon land, we shall confine ourselves to the result, and to the essential circumstances.

It seems to be acknowledged, that M. d'Aché was
superior

superior to the enemy *; already he had even obliged two English frigates to blow themselves up, and had begun to impress them with terror; when he committed several faults, which occasioned him to lose his advantages, and made him inferior to the enemy. By an ill-judged pique against Count Lally, to whom he refused to pay the honours due to the

1760.

* Comparison between the two Fleets.

FRENCH FLEET.

Ships.	Guns.	Captains M. M.
<i>Le Zodiaque,</i> —	74 —	M. d'Aché, Commodore.
<i>Le Comte de Provence,</i> —	74 —	de la Chaîse.
<i>Le Bien aimé,</i> —	58 —	Bouvet.
<i>Le Vengeur,</i> —	54 —	Palliere.
<i>Le Condé,</i> —	50 —	Rosbau.
<i>Le Duc d'Orléans</i> —	50 —	Surville the younger.
<i>Le Saint Louis,</i> —	50 —	Joannis.
<i>Le Moras,</i> —	50 —	Bec-de-lievre.
<i>Le Duc de Bourgogne,</i> —	50 —	d'Après de Menniville.
Frigates.		
<i>La Diligence,</i> —	30 —	Marion.
<i>La Sylphide,</i> —	— —	Marin.

ENGLISH FLEET.

Ships.	Guns.	Captains M. M.
<i>The Yarmouth,</i> —	70 —	{ Pocock, Admiral. Harrison, Captain.
<i>The Elisabeth,</i> —	70 —	
<i>The Cumberland,</i> —	66 —	{ Stevens, Admiral. Kempensfelt, Captain.
<i>The Weymouth,</i> —	60 —	
<i>The Tyger,</i> —	60 —	Brereton.
<i>The Newcastle,</i> —	54 —	Michael Vincent.
<i>The Salisbury,</i> —	50 —	Thomas Latham.
Frigates.		
<i>The Queensborough,</i> —	30	George Legge.
<i>The Protestor</i> —	14	J. H. Somerset.

General,

1760. General, instead of escorting him to Pondicherry with his whole fleet, and by that means keeping together, he detached a ship of the line of 74 guns, and a frigate, for this purpose. It was at this moment that, having neglected to inform himself of Pocock's situation, he was attacked by that Admiral, who took the weather-gage of him. The forces were still equal; he fought well, and was even wounded—The defection of the *Duc de Bourgogne* proved very useful to the enemy. That ship was commanded by M. d'Après de Menniville, a Captain of an India ship, a man of letters, and member of the Academy of Sciences. Unfortunately, his courage did not answer to his understanding. M. d'Aché, in the letter he wrote to the Minister †, complains, that this officer never kept his post, nor indeed ever was in it; that, on the contrary, he got out of the line at the very beginning of the action, and fought only across the masts of the other ships, under which he sheltered himself. However this may be, having made his ship *arriver*, which, in naval terms, signifies bearing away before the wind, the French General did not avail himself of the pretended success he boasted of; he even furnished an opportunity for the English Admiral to take honour to himself for having made M. d'Aché lose the object of his present station. This was, to remain off Guadaloupe and Port St. David, which were at that time besieged by Count Lally, and to which it was essential that no vessel should be suffered to approach, either to throw in succours, or to carry off the effects and ammunition,

29 April,
1758.

† Dated from the Island of France, the 30th of October 1758. See the Appendix, N° XIII. in which is likewise a journal of the two actions.

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in case of a surrender. It is true, that the English did not fulfil their project, but this was only owing to the obstacles they met with from the elements. However, they passed, in sight of the French fleet, to windward, went to refit at Madras, and put to sea again ten days after.

In the mean time, M. d'Aché kept himself close at Pondicherry. Being weaker by one ship*, which was lost after the action, he had resisted the solicitations that were made to him to go out of harbour, under pretence of inability. He contented himself with forming wishes for the success of Count Lally, at Fort Saint David, by writing to him, *the only thing I think terrible, is, that we cannot assist one another* †. Count Lally was obliged to go in person to Pondicherry, and to force the Commadore to weigh anchor, by heading the grenadiers, and by giving orders to arrest him, if he refused to shew himself before Fort Saint David, in order to deprive the besieged of the hopes of receiving any succours. This violent proceeding is attested to us by M. Leyrit, Governor of the place for the Company ‡. We do not know whether M. de Lally had any right to act in this manner; he exerted it however very *à-propos*, for the fort capitulated as soon as M. d'Aché appeared.

After having taken this bulwark of the power of the English upon this coast, this would have been

* *Le Bien Aimé.*

† These are the express words of a letter from Count d'Aché, to Count Lally, dated Pondicherry, May the 18th, 1758.

‡ See the letters that the Sieurs Duval, Leyrit, and Lally, have written to one another in India, with a comment by the former.

the

1760.

the time to avail ourselves of this first advantage, which rendered the French name respected in India, extended the glory of his Majesty's arms, inspired the troops with that confidence which paves the way to victory, and is almost always followed by it, and to encourage the troops to go to Madrafs, the second object which it had been recommended to the Commanders of the sea and land forces, in their instructions, not to lose sight of. This was the opinion of Count Lally, who exerted himself to the utmost to persuade M. d'Aché to it, without whose concurrence he could not act with advantage. Jealousy rose so high between these two officers, that it was impossible they should agree. The Commodore remembered the violence with which he had been threatened by the Count; he pretended the necessity of going previously to meet the succours expected from the Island of France, to intercept, if possible, those of the English; and, sailing along the coast, he turned his back to Madrafs and Pondicherry. The alarm was soon spread in that factory, and the Council dispatched a vessel to him, to summon him to return, not with intention to attack the English, who had recovered themselves, but to preserve the town from their insults. It was again proposed to him to sail up to the enemy's fleet, which had been in search of him for two months; he obstinately persisted in remaining where he was, to avoid, as he said, the exposing of the King's flag. At last, Pocock threatened to attack him at anchor; and, to avoid this disadvantage, he was obliged to sail out. In this action, wherein his adversary again got the weather-gage of him, he experienced all sorts of disasters and misfortunes.

3 Aug.
1758.

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fortunes. One of the Company's ships took fire: others could not make use of their upper batteries, and were obliged to bring to; the *Zodiaque* lost its rudder three times; and M. d'Aché was in danger of being blown up, by the fire thrown into his ship, by the English. He went on board the *Duc d'Orleans*—lost a great many men—was wounded—and while, on the one hand, he said that *he had well warmed the enemy; that the enemy would not fight him any longer; that they did not choose to come within canon-shot of him**, he acknowledged, on the other hand, that *his fleet was disabled*†. He was obliged to leave the enemy in possession of the sea, and to run thirty leagues to windward, in order to return to Pondicherry. He did not still think himself in safety there; he declared, that he would not answer for the event, should the English come to blow him up; and, notwithstanding the assistance offered him, and the intreaties of Count Lally, and of the Council, to engage him to stay at least as long as the enemy, he departed before the proper season, and against the monsoon, abandoning the coast and the sea to his rival. We leave our readers to determine upon this exposition of facts; but, although a General be not responsible for events, which neither prudence nor courage can prevent, and in circumstances where skill and chance are so intimately blended, yet, when a man is always on the losing side, we are much inclined to condemn

* The terms of several of his letters, or of those of M. de Monteuil, Major of the Squadron.

† See his letter of the 21st of August 1758, to Count Lally.

1760.

him, to think he is deficient in skill, or has not so great a share of it as his adversary.

The singular circumstance is, that the Count alledged the same motives for his retreat, as were urged to dissuade him from it. He said, that his fleet would be the salvation of the French settlements in India; and it was represented to him, that, under pretence of being useful to them the following year, he began in this, by abandoning them to an indefatigable enemy, who had kept the sea for three years, in defiance of winds and tempestuous seasons; and who might take advantage of his absence to undertake some decisive stroke, which would render the return of his fleet the next year superfluous. Another singularity is, that he quitted Pondicherry contrary to the wishes of the Council there, in order to go to the Isle of France, where the Council dreaded his return, and declared to him, upon his arrival, that they had not wherewithal to furnish him with subsistence.

M. d'Aché was obliged to send, at a great expence, twelve ships, to supply himself with provisions from the Cape of Good Hope. No doubt, this expedition retarded his return upon the coast; but these provisions were however collected early enough for him to have appeared there again a long while before September, after more than a twelvemonth's absence. This time, he himself owned, that he was superior in forces: three of the King's ships*, and

* Ships.	Guns.	Captains M. M.
The <i>Minotaure</i>	— 74	de l'Éguille, Commodore.
L' <i>Illustre</i>	— 64	de Ruis
L' <i>Asif</i>	— 64	Beauchefne

several

1760.

several belonging to the Company, had joined him, under the command of M. d'Eguille, another General Officer, younger than he. He would have been well pleased, that this excellent naval officer, who was improperly appointed second in command, had relieved him from a commission which was displeasing to him; and it would have been to be wished that the Court had ordered it so. M. de l'Eguille was active, enterprising, and indefatigable, at sea; of an accommodating disposition in the service; and, far from raising obstacles, as his predecessor, he would, on the contrary, have exerted himself in removing them. The bad plans of Administration, who did not know how to appreciate, and to make the most of talents, rendered those of this second Commodore useless.

On the 10th of September, before Count d'Aché reached Pondicherry, the two fleets met, and Admiral Pocock, notwithstanding his inferiority, did not avoid the action. He had only nine ships †, against eleven, of which eleven there were three of 74, four of 64, and four of 54 guns, according to M. d'Aché's own account. He had certainly forces enough to enable him to take ample revenge; but he was again unfortunate: the Squadron was suddenly weakened by an accident of one of the King's ships taking fire. Four ships belonging to the India Company ran away and deserted; the enemy had the advantage of the wind; the Commander himself was wounded, and obliged to retreat. He cast

1759.

* The English Admiral in his account of the action, pretends that he had only seven ships, the *Weymouth* and the *Cumberland* not having been able to join him in time.

1760. anchor at Pondicherry, and the very next day, as if he had been seized with a panic, he set sail to return to the Islands, with so much precipitation, that he even left one of his ships behind him in the harbour. The reason of this conduct could not be conceived. In his two first actions he had always affected to give out, notwithstanding it was evident he had had the disadvantage, that he had obliged the English to run away. But on this occasion he maintained, to the deputies sent to persuade him to remain, that he had been beaten. He was assured, that the enemy had suffered still more; that they were in very bad condition: that, at any rate, it was an essential point to set a good face upon the matter, in order to deceive the Negroes, for which purpose a *Te Deum* had just been sung, to convince them that he had obtained the victory. At this very instant, a discharge of a hundred pieces of canon confirmed this account, and flattered the vanity of the General. To this were added, representations, intreaties, and protestations; he was solicited either to avail himself of the bad condition the English fleet was in, to crush them, or at least, if he did not choose to run any risques, not to quit the coast before them. Further arguments were used, the more effectually to prevail upon his vanity, by telling him, that news of the defeat and flight of his Squadron, which was the only support of the French settlements in India, would be conveyed as far as Delhi: that, beside the opprobrium which would be cast upon the French name, such an opinion would be entertained of their weakness, that they would be forsaken by all their allies. At length, no motive being able to prevail

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prevail upon him; a national protest was notified to him, in which it was declared, that, after having urged all these arguments, capable of detaining him, the Council, and all the inhabitants assembled together, made him alone responsible for the loss of the colony, and communicated to him the complaints which they meant to address to the King and the Ministry against him, in order to obtain satisfaction.

M. d'Aché's conduct was a compound of inconsistency, contradiction, and absurdity. His bravery could not certainly be called in question. Three actions, in which his blood had been spilt, in which he had set the example, by exposing his own person, would have been sufficient to confound his accusers upon this point: but valour is not the first qualification of a General; he must also possess a great share of judgment: whereas it is evident, that M. d'Aché's was perpetually in default. He was agitated with internal passions, which rendered useless the intrepidity he could have displayed. His conduct, when not in action, seemed to be directed by a kind of caprice. He quitted Pondicherry with precipitation, under a pretence of being informed, from good authority, that this city was in want of all the materials necessary for refitting his squadron, and that it had not even provisions for the maintenance of its own troops and its inhabitants; although, in the national protest just mentioned, wherein he was very roughly handled*, an augmentation of forces was offered

* See the representations made to Count d'Aché, by the Gentlemen of the Superior Council of Pondicherry, in the name of the nation, assembled in a body, on the 17th of September 1759; and

1760. offered him, and as many provisions as he could desire, together with an immediate supply of every necessary for the repair of his ships. M. d'Aché even condemned himself; he endeavoured to justify his departure, by a secret project he meditated, of seizing upon Mazulipatan, an English factory, more than a hundred leagues to windward of the settlements he was forsaking. He could not, therefore, be so totally in want of subsistence and men; neither could his ships be in so shattered a condition, since, of his own accord, he thus endeavoured to prolong the campaign, and to hazard an expedition which must necessarily make him lose time, and men, and perhaps expose him to a fresh engagement; which, he said, he was not able to sustain.

But the circumstance that renders the conduct of M. d'Aché inexcusable, is the having suffered Pondicherry to be taken, not only without appearing there again, after an absence of eighteen months, but without having sent the least assistance there during that interval. In vain does he give a pathetic account, in his memorials, of the hurricane of the month of January 1760, which threw two-and-thirty ships upon the coast, which raged with violence for two days consecutively, and reduced the island of France to the most dreadful extremity. In vain does he object, in order to justify his inaction, the fears of the French Ministry for that colony, and the secret intelligence he had received of the fitting out of a

the protest of the nation, assembled in the Government-hall of Pondicherry, to M. d'Aché, on the 17th of September, 1759. These two pieces are inserted and produced at full length, in several memorials produced on the famous trial of Count Lally; which prevents us from inserting them here.

fleet

1760.

fleet in Europe by the English, which threatened it. From the month of January, to the season of the favourable monsoons, there was more time than sufficient to repair the damages occasioned by the storm. It was easy to be perceived, that the apprehensions of Versailles were groundless and improbable; that all the efforts of the enemy would be first exerted against Pondicherry, and that it was this bulwark, which stood in greatest need of protection, as being the surest rampart for the defence of the French islands:—in a word, that, as he was alarmed for two places at once, it was best to attend to that which was most likely to be first attacked. Besides, another circumstance ought to have inspired him with the unalterable resolution of returning to the coast; this was famine, the most cruel of all the scourges, with which the Isle of France was threatened; an inevitable and invincible enemy, against which, neither precaution, plan, nor courage could avail, and which would have been the most powerful assistant to the English, in case they had invested the island. The Governor, M. Desforges Boucher, had urged all these powerful motives, to get rid of the fleet; and M. d'Aché, after having seen, at Pondicherry, the whole nation protesting against him, because he forsook them, beheld, without any emotion, the Council of the Island of France protest against him, alledging, that by his too long stay among them, he was the occasion of their ruin:—he beheld his own officers* join in the intreaties of the colony—he saw the confusion, disorder, the dissensions, and the consternation he occasioned there, and yet he still

* Among others, M. de Ruis, Captain of *l'Albatros*.

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persisted in staying at the place he was desired to leave, because, far from being of service to it, he only contributed to increase it's misfortunes; while he would not go to the spot upon which he was intreated to remain, because his squadron was it's security. He declared every where, that his fleet was the only hope of India—the resource looked up to for it's preservation; that the loss of it would infallibly occasion the loss of India; that the salvation of this country depended upon it:—and yet Pondicherry was taken at a time when this fleet was in a most flourishing condition, and remained in perfect security at the distance of fifteen hundred leagues.

It is therefore certain that M. d'Aché was the immediate cause of the capture of Pondicherry, or rather, perhaps, the imbecillity of the Ministry, in adopting, upon very slight grounds, the insinuations, which were, perhaps, artfully suggested to them by the Court of London, by which they inspired him with false alarms for the safety of the Island of France, alarms of which the Director of the maritime operations very readily availed himself, because they favoured his natural indolence, and his antipathy to Count Lally; who, from the report of his accusers, had made himself formidable to all persons, except the English. This is the opportunity of making our readers acquainted with this Gentleman, upon whom the eyes of all Europe have, for some time, been fixed. He was a man of a hard and splenetic disposition, and tormented to excess with the frenzy of dominion, which he exercised with intolerable despotism. He had been sent to India by the Company, as much to defend them against their domestic as their foreign enemies. The first, were their most devoted

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voted servants, who, enriched with their spoils, and having nothing more to gain from the distress to which they had reduced them, were inwardly desirous of falling into the hands of the English, in order to cover their particular depredations, under the general system of pillage, which always attends conquest. M. Lally was the most improper person to remedy these evils. Full of prejudices, he was, moreover, so headstrong, that he was prevented from seeing any thing with the coolness of reason; and his excessive violence contributed totally to obscure his understanding. To these faults was added, a mean and infamous vice, a sordid avarice, which made him eager after the pursuit of the depredators, but merely with a view of appropriating to himself the restitutions he exacted of them. He seemed as if he reserved to himself the ruin of the Company. Scarce was he arrived at Pondicherry, when, already at variance with his colleague for the maritime enterprizes, he prejudiced against him all the orders of the town, the council, the military, and the citizens. By this proceeding, he exposed himself to oppositions, which soured his temper, and which he soon magnified into crimes. Upon such occasions, forgetting all behaviour, respect, decorum, and decency, he became ferocious and barbarous, insulting both humanity and nature; and, to all the horrors which his rage suggested to him, he added irony, still more bitter, and more humiliating.

But, notwithstanding the jar of so many opposite interests, active passions, animosities, hatred, resentment, cabals, and factions, Count Lally, who was not a General destitute of talents, during the time of his commission, which lasted near three years, was engaged

1760.25 Jan.
1761.

engaged in ten battles, or skirmishes, and took ten places, or forts. Reduced to only 700 regulars, against 15,000 land forces, and fourteen ships of the line—not having a single boat for his defence—he sustained a blockade, was invested during nine months, and did not surrender the place, till there did not remain one single grain of rice, or any other kind of nourishment for his garrison, already worn out with fatigue and misery.

A singular circumstance rendered the capitulation of Pondicherry, dictated by necessity, still more hard. A principle of revenge operated on the side of the conquerors. They had intercepted the instructions given to the Counts Lally and d'Aché by the Company. These instructions forbade their granting any terms to the English settlements that might fall into their hands. The Governor of Madras, who came to the English army, in order to regulate the articles of capitulation, laid a stress upon these directions of the French, and insisted upon the same rigour. Not only the troops of the garrison, the Magistrates, and the Council, but even all the subalterns in the Company's service, were embarked for Europe. The fortifications were demolished, and the plough was made to pass over this superb city, which hereafter exhibited nothing more than a heap of ruins.

The scene of dissensions, with which this city had been agitated, was only removed to another place, and the clamours with which India had resounded, were transferred to annoy the capital. Every one took a part in them, according to his interest, affections, or prejudices, and the result was, that famous trial of which we shall hereafter speak. This, as well as that of the Canadians, was the only thing that France

obtained

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obtained for the blood and treasures she had lavished in the preservation of those immense possessions.

It was time to conclude, by any kind of peace, a naval war, in which the equilibrium was so entirely destroyed, that every conquest obtained by England over France, paved the way for others, without any hopes left of a compensation. The capture of Cape Breton, the key of the river St. Laurence, opened to the English the way to North America by sea, which they could never have conquered by land. Pondicherry lost, for want of a fleet, put them in possession of all the peninsula. They became masters not only of the coast of Coromandel, but of that of Malabar also, where Mahé had capitulated. There only remained the Isles of France and Bourbon, which would in time have been reduced by famine, without the conqueror being obliged to employ any other means.

10 Feb.

Guadalupe had been the staple of the expedition against Dominica, and these two islands, in the neighbourhood of Martinico, were made use of to press the latter, and to facilitate the approaches to it. It was taken a few months after, and drew along with it the defection of all the other Windward islands. A Captain of a ship commanded there, his companions used to call him the *Great la Touche*, not on account of his exploits, but of his majestic shape and fine figure. Certainly, if Nadau had been degraded for having given up Guadalupe, after several months resistance, and having defended every inch of ground, what shall we say of the Governor of Martinico, which was made an intire conquest of in less than six *

* The landing was effected on the 7th of January 1762, and the total reduction on the 14th of February.

weeks?

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weeks? But he belonged to a corps in which every offence remained unpunished; he escaped, like so many others, the capital punishment he deserved. He laid the blame upon the inhabitants, who, in fact, chose rather to live in plenty, under the dominion of the English, than to die of hunger, under that of the mother country. Saint Domingo, Cayenne, and Louisiana, were soon to experience the same fate. And France was threatened, if the face of affairs did not change in a short time, to be deprived of all its colonies in the East and West Indies.

Such was the boldness of the enemy, that they had already begun to blockade the kingdom by the capture of Belleisle, which put them in possession of the gulph of Gascony. The English had several times attempted the conquest of this island, but always without success. They succeeded in it this war, when the debility and discouragement of their rivals allowed them to undertake every enterprize. They had prepared, ever since the month of March, a considerable armament for this purpose. Having been repulsed at their first landing, they succeeded better a second time; and, notwithstanding the brave resistance made by the Officer who commanded the fortress, they subdued the whole island in less than two months. At the signing of the capitulation, Major General Hodgson, and Commodore Keppel, did not fail to do justice to the valour of the garrison; they said, *Granted, in favour of the gallant defence which the citadel has made, under the orders of the Chevalier de St. Croix.*

3 April.

7 June,

The Parisians were so little accustomed, at that time, to see such kind of men, that the Chevalier de St. Croix, as soon as he appeared there, was pointed out, applauded, surrounded, and followed as a phenomenon.

nomenon. He did not long survive his glory, and, having been appointed to the defence of St. Domingo, he died in that colony. But if the resistance of Belleisle did honour to it's generous defender, it was not a less ignominious circumstance to the French, to see one of their bulwarks carried off before their face, without sending the least assistance to it; to see England extending her sway even over their own country, and be enabled to infest, without molestation, and with impunity, all the coasts of the country of the Bay of Biscay; confine their armaments, coasting, and other trade, and acquire a place of support to favour their invasions, and a convenient spot to retire to, in case of any check or damage from the elements.

1760.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

APPENDIX.

THE
HISTORY
OF
THE
CITY
OF
NEW
YORK
FROM
THE
FIRST
SETTLEMENT
TO
THE
PRESENT
TIME
BY
JOHN
B. HOGGINS
NEW
YORK
1898

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TO
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HISTORY
OF
THE
CITY
OF
BOSTON
FROM
1630
TO
1800
BY
JOHN
B. HENNING

APPENDIX.

N° I.

Journal of the States of Britany, bolden in 1752.

THE three orders of men who compose the States of Britany, have unanimously demanded of the King's Commissioners the suppression of the impost called the *Vingtieme*, as being intolerable in itself, and in the mode of levying it. The Duke de Chaulnes has answered, by communicating to them the article of his instructions concerning the *Vingtieme*, in which he is forbidden to listen to any representations upon this subject. This answer has excited the greatest ferment in the States, and hath occasioned a second deputation, to remonstrate to the Commissioners, that the States being deprived of their natural right of making representations, upon a matter of so great importance as the *Vingtieme*,
 VOL. III. T could

could not attend to the other affairs of the province. In vain have the Bishop of Rennes, and M. de Lannion, President of the Nobility, endeavoured to make them understand, that it was at least necessary to point out the particular grievances there might be, concerning the levying of this tax; in order that there might appear some motive for their opposition, they have been prevented from proceeding, by the clamours of the other members of the assembly. The Duke de Chaulnes has answered with firmness, that he would never attend to any thing vague and general, upon the article of the *Vingtieme*; that the utmost he would allow, would be to receive representations upon the particular abuses which might have been observed in the mode of collecting this tax. He moreover signified to the deputies, his regret, in not being able to yield to their solicitations; but at the same time apprized them of his firm resolution of carrying the orders of the King into execution with the greatest strictness.

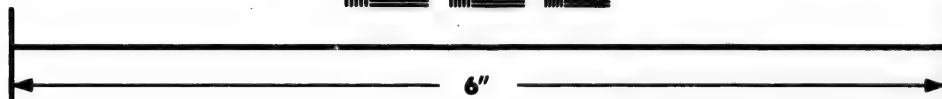
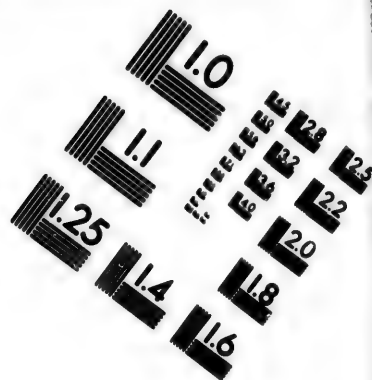
Letters from Britany, of the 4th of this month, mention, that the States being assembled on Sunday, the King's Commissioners had signified to them an order in writing, to appoint committees to proceed upon the business; and that this order had excited a considerable tumult, which had only been appeased by a proposal made by the Commonalty of the State, to send a deputation, intreating the Commissioners to revoke their order, and hear the complaints of the States concerning the *Vingtieme*. This deputation, at the head of which was the Bishop of Quimper, as well as two others sent with the same view, in which the Bishop of Vannes was the speaker, were equally unavailing. M. de Chaulnes continued

tinued to answer with firmness, that he would never depart from the order signified to them; that he would not attend to the complaints concerning the *Vingtieme*, till the committees had been appointed; and that he would not suffer the King's authority to give way to an obstinacy founded only upon ill-humour, and which announced, on the part of the States, a premeditated design of remaining in inaction.

Upon the representations of the Bishop of Vannes to the States, it was decided by a majority of votes, that, without appointing the ordinary committees, that of the *Vingtieme* should continue to sit, and should draw up a complete memorial of their grievances respecting this impost. The resolution was given out by the Bishop of Rennes, President, but interrupted by several members of the Nobility, who drew after them almost the whole assembly, saying that it was irregular, and that treachery had been used in collecting the votes. They protested against the resolution with great clamour, and prevented it's being inscribed upon the register.

We learn by letters from Britany, of the 6th of October, that the opposition of the Nobility has had it's effect; that the resolution which was the cause of it, has not been inscribed upon the registers; and that the committee of the *Vingtieme* have not even been verbally authorized to continue their business. The assembly of the States have confined theirs to the establishment of the authenticity of the regulation of the year 1507, which justifies their conduct, and was contested with them by the Duke de Chaulnes, who has still continued inflexible, respecting the orders, the repeal of which was solicited. The





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States, on their part, have obstinately persisted in their design of doing nothing; they have proceeded so far as to refuse the gratification of 1,500 livres*, which it is customary to give to the Captain of the Duke de Chaulnes' guards, who has brought to the Court the news of the voluntary gift granted. And, in order to remove every idea of business and deliberation from the States, they have not, according to custom, sent a deputation of humanity to visit the sick members of the States. The Duke de Chaulnes has dispatched a Courier, on the 5th in the evening, to the Court.

They write from Britany the 8th of this month, that the States had sent a deputation to the Duke de Chaulnes, to ask of him if his Majesty, when he had expressed his satisfaction concerning the voluntary gift, had not revoked the orders given to his Commissioners, not to attend to the representations of the States respecting the *Vingtieme*, relative either to the tax itself, or to the mode of collecting it. They add, that this deputation has been entirely as useless as the former; and that the Duke de Chaulnes had answered them in a very high tone, that he neither could nor would hear them, since they had not appointed the committees. At the following meeting, a resolution was produced, which the Nobility themselves, somewhat calmer, proposed, and which was immediately adopted by the other Orders. This was, to draw up a memorial in justification of the conduct of the Assembly; and that the committee of the *Vingtieme* should immediately set about it, and should send it to the Duke de Penthièvre, to

* Sixty-two pounds ten shillings.

the Keeper of the Seals, and to the Count de St. Florentin.

The Bishop of Rennes having pronounced to the States of Britany a very pathetic and very elegant discourse, to induce the assembly to give way to circumstances, and to submit to the King's pleasure; a deputy of the Nobility, who spoke after him, said; that all his corps admired the eloquence of M. de Rennes, but that they were still more affected with his example, and that of the Clergy, which they would think it an honour to follow.

The King has dispatched a Courier to Britany, with a letter *de cachet* to separate the States.

By a letter from Rennes of the 11th of this month, received this day, we are informed that the three last assemblies of the States had been more tumultuous than ever; that the Bishop of Rennes had in vain endeavoured to conciliate the people; that the Nobility had opposed every kind of resolution; that on the 10th, at nine in the morning, the States being assembled, an order had been sent to them from his Majesty's Commissioners, signifying, that the King, informed of the refusal of the Nobility to obey the orders of the Commissioners in appointing the usual committees, and of the pretences upon which they had founded this refusal, ordered them, under pain of disobedience, to conform to them, and declared, at the same time, that his Majesty authorised his Commissioners to hear them, and make a report to him of the complaints they had to propose upon the administration of the *Vingtieme*, to the intent that his Majesty might pay such regard to them as he should think just and reasonable. After some debates, the opinion of the three Orders was unanimous, to register the King's orders, and to

obey them. Accordingly, the committees have been appointed.

By letters from Rennes of the 13th, we learn that the States had resumed the ordinary course of business, and that the Nobility had proposed to insist upon demanding the suppression of the *Vingtieme* before they proceeded.

The States have been informed, that the bishoprick of Rennes—which in 1749 was taxed only for the *Dixieme* at one hundred and nine thousand livres*—was taxed in 1750 in one hundred and thirty-nine thousand †, and in 1751 at one hundred and fifty-five thousand livres ‡, for the *Vingtieme*; and that it was the same of the other bishopricks. The committee was required to ascertain these grievances.

The letters from Britany are filled with eulogiums of the Bishop of Vannes, and of the Marquis de Lannion. The case is very different with respect to the Duke and Dutches de Chaulnes, and the Bishop of Rennes, at whose gate a tolerable pasquinade had been fixed. He had given a loose to his sentiments very indiscreetly, though very eloquently, at a meeting, and the next day he found the following words upon his gate: *This day will be represented, for the second time, the rage of Gueraffin, (the Bishop's family name,) which will be followed by the false brethren.*

A caricature print has also been fixed at the door of the Seneschal of Rennes, in which he is represented hanged.

* Between four and five thousand pounds.

† Between five and six thousand pounds.

‡ Between six and seven thousand pounds.

The letters from Britany of the 15th inform us, that nothing has been done at the session of Friday the 13th, but to hear and agree to the proposal that was made, to require of the Director of the *Vingtieme* the general state of the tax in each bishoprick, in the years 1750, 1751, 1752, the committee being desirous of being acquainted with it, in order that it may serve as the basis and motive to the memorial of the grievances. M. Ferré, Director, has answered—that he could not communicate it, without the order of the Intendant; who having been applied to, has refused to allow it, before he had written upon the matter to the Keeper of the Seals. The States addressed themselves to M. de Chaulnes; who answered the deputies sent to him—that he was surprized the States should imagine they had a right to demand from the King, and from those who represented him an account of a tax levied in his name; that as for the rest, he could not avoid representing to them, that they ought to employ themselves more seriously in hastening their memorial, without interrupting it by incidents which could only retard, and perhaps *disgrace* the decision. Upon the report of this answer, the next meeting was rather warm. The Clergy, however, and the Commonalty, agreed to insist no longer upon the demand of the abstract of this tax. Although this opinion was not agreeable to the Nobility, it passed; but there was no discussion made of this matter.

By the letters from Rennes of the 18th, we learn that the committee of the *Vingtieme* have at length presented their memorial to the assemblies of the States. It has been read in two consecutive sessions, and has met with the greatest applause; but there

being some observations to be made upon it by the three Orders of the State, it has been agreed upon, that each Order should examine it distinctly; and, to avoid confusion, Commissioners have been appointed in each Chamber, to make their report to them, and definitively to the whole Assembly. This step was preceded by a demand which the States made to the King's Commissioners, that they should be permitted to elect a second Syndic; which the Commissioners refused, alleging their instructions, which were express upon this subject, and enjoined them particularly neither to allow this, nor even to receive any remonstrance upon the matter. Upon which the States have determined to write to the Duke de Penthièvre, and to M. de St. Florentin, to obtain this permission.

The letters from Brittany of the 20th, upon that subject, signify, that on the 18th the Bishop of Rennes had made a report to the Assembly, of three letters written to the Duke de Penthièvre, to the Keeper of the Seals, and to M. de St. Florentin, upon the subject of the *Vingtième*. He added, that he had only received an answer from M. de Penthièvre, which evidently confirmed, that it was in vain to expect any success from them; that he did not think any better success was to be expected from the letters written by the Assembly to obtain a second Syndic: upon which the three Orders of the State seemed inclined to proceed immediately to an election, without waiting for an answer. But at length a majority of voices declared against this; after which the Assembly proceeded to business.

The memorial was read to the Nobility, with the changes that the commissioners had made
in

in it, the chief of which was respecting the demands, which were solely restrained to require the suppression of the *Vingtieme*, or being allowed to compound for it; whereas the demands of the memorial were, that the new abstracts of 1753 should be exactly conformable to the lists ascertained, and that in the mean time, they should be fixed to one half of the sums of the *Dixieme* in 1749; that the abstracts of 1750, 1751, and 1752, should be exacted only upon the same footing; and that, with respect to the abstract of 1753, the overplus of what had been paid should be accounted for; that the lists should not be rejected upon pretence of want of formalities, and left out in the supplementary abstracts; that the present demand shall be authenticated, in the present Assembly, by a decree of Council. The Commonalty approved of all these changes, and added to them a demand of the exemption of the *Vingtieme* from freehold estates, and the diminution of an eighth part for repairing the houses in the cities, and a tenth for that of the houses in the country places. The memorial thus altered, was sent to the two other Orders; but the Nobility would not adopt the demands, and declared that they would not resolve, till the Clergy had adopted theirs; which being refused, the business was postponed to the next day. The Commonalty persisting in their opinion, the Nobility as constantly refused giving theirs, upon a certainty that the opinion of the Clergy would be agreeable to that of the Commonalty, and that their own would consequently have no effect. The States in this position remained assembled all day, and till night, and were still so when the courier set out. The Clergy, at ten o'clock

at

at night, sent to ask the Nobility if they persisted in their intention of not deliberating, and declared to them, that in that case they would take the resolution to withdraw; which they did, as well as the Commonalty; but the Nobility remained. Count Lannion, however, who was but in an indifferent state of health, went to bed in the infirmary of the *Cordeliers*.

It was added, that in the morning it had transpired, that the King's Commissioners were to make the demand of the capitation, and the other matters belonging to the King.

By the letters received from Britany, we learn that the three Orders of the State, after having set up all Thursday night, were each of them assembled on Friday morning in their chambers; where they have remained ever since, in the same situation of affairs, and that they were not removed from thence by the demands made by the King's Commissioners on Friday morning, which they had assembled to hear. These demands were, the hearth-money, the taxes upon rents, the customs established, and the two pence* per pound of the *Dixieme*, and the reading of the decree of Council of 1738, which forbids the granting of any pension or gratification, without the permission or authority of the King. Upon this last point only, the States ordered the decree to be read, but the Nobility refused to deliberate upon the other demands. Even by a delay in deliberating, the President of the Commonalty having collected the votes of his Order, and having got up to give their opinion, was hooted and reviled. Nevertheless, he did an-

* One penny.

announce the opinion, notwithstanding the clamours which interrupted him; and it was, that his Order were for granting every thing. That of the Church was the same; but the rule of their not declaring it, till after that of the Nobility, prevented them from announcing it.

Matters being in this state, the Bishop of Rennes, after having made fresh but useless representations to the Nobility upon the irregularity and danger of their obitnacy, took the opportunity of proposing to them not to continue the sittings of the Assembly longer than four hours, and that this rule should be made a standing one. The proposal was accepted for the day only, and yesterday it was renewed, and fixed to two o'clock in the afternoon.

It was reported that the Duke of Chaulnes had dispatched a courier to give an account of the conduct of the States, and ask the King's orders.

Letters from Britany of the 25th of October mention, that on Sunday the States remained in the chambers without doing any thing, and separated at two o'clock, the sessions still continuing.

That on the Monday, before they went to the chambers, they drew up and signed what was to be inserted in the register since Thursday. Afterwards Count Lannion signified to his Order, that after having in vain endeavoured, both in public and private, to make them sensible of the irregularity and danger of their situation, he thought himself obliged, upon so critical an occasion, to ascertain with the utmost exactness the wishes of the Order, whose votes perhaps he had not collected with sufficient accuracy, and that he proposed a scrutiny—that the proposal was at first rejected; but that his complaisance in not insisting

insisting upon it, had induced a great number to consent to it; which number increased sufficiently for it to become the opinion of the majority;—that a scrutiny was therefore entered upon, to ascertain whether the opinion for not deliberating should be persisted in or not, and that the affirmative was carried by 167 votes to 16;—that this being done, the States rose at two o'clock, the sittings of the chambers still continuing, and that yesterday the result was the same;—that all the conferences, negotiations, and reciprocal proposals of reconciliation among the Orders, had been ineffectual;—and that upon that day (the 25th) the return of the courier from the Duke de Chaulnes was expected, who only could put an end to this inaction.

The letters from Rennes of the 27th of this month mention as follows:

The courier of the Duke de Chaulnes arrived yesterday morning at ten o'clock; at eleven, the Attorney General came to the Chambers, and signified to them the orders contained in the letter from his Majesty to the Duke de Chaulnes, of which this is the tenour:

“ COUSIN,

“ By a letter of the 7th instant, I have authorised you, as well as my other Commissioners, to receive the representations of the States, and to hear their complaints upon the manner in which the ordonnances, given in consequence of their demand for the imposition of the *Vingtieme*, have been executed; and I have at the same time signified to you, I did not understand that, under pretence of drawing up the memorial of these pretended grievances, and waiting for the answer, the
“ States

" States should postpone their ordinary business ;
 " which, on the contrary, I ordered them to begin,
 " and to proceed in, as they were always used to do.
 " I am nevertheless informed, that the Attorney
 " General of the said States, having transmitted to
 " them, by your order, four articles of instructions,
 " which I have given you, that they should delibe-
 " rate upon them, the Order of the Nobility
 " has refused, upon a pretence of a deliberation be-
 " gun, upon occasion of a memorial which the said
 " States have caused to be drawn up, upon the sub-
 " ject of the imposition of the *Vingtieme*. This re-
 " fusai being directly contrary to my intentions,
 " which I have explained to you in my said letter,
 " and which you have notified to them, I dispatch
 " this to tell you, that you should expressly order
 " them, from me, and under penalty of disobe-
 " dience, to deliberate instantly upon the said four
 " articles of the said instructions, which you shall
 " cause to be transmitted to them ; ordering and
 " even enjoining you to attend to this, and also to
 " send me their representations and complaints, in
 " the manner abovementioned, as soon as they shall
 " have given them to you, in order that I may de-
 " termine upon them as I shall think equitable and
 " proper."

" Written at Fontainebleau, the twenty-
 " fourth day of October 1752.

" (Signed) LEWIS.

" And lower down, PHILIPPEAUX."

The

The King's letter having been read, together with the orders of the Commissioners to comply with it immediately, under penalty of disobedience, and to register it, the Nobility have exclaimed in a tumultuous manner, and with heat, upon the false accusation laid to their charge, of having refused to deliberate, and upon the unfavourable impressions that had been given of their conduct upon this point; maintaining positively, that there had been no refusal, upon their part, of deliberating upon the four articles in question, nor even any order from the King's Commissioners to deliberate upon them, otherwise than as usual in the course of their session; and that, if they had not done it, it had not been from any intention of not agreeing to them, but only because they had begun an important affair, which their rules did not permit them to interrupt; and that, in order to prove this, they were ready immediately to obey the King's orders, and to grant the four articles; which the three Orders unanimously did. But the Nobility having it at heart to justify themselves to the King, and not to leave any traces upon their records, of so injurious an order—and the Clergy having acceded to their opinion—a deputation was sent to the King's Commissioners, to represent to them the falsity of the accusation which served as a motive to the King's order, and to desire the Duke de Chaulnes to agree to it's not being registered, and to send a courier to the King, to give him an account of their obedience, and to undeceive his Majesty with regard to the ill offices that had been rendered to the Order of the Nobility. The opinion of the Commonalty had been, to grant the four articles, and to depute to the King's Commissioners,

sioners, simply to represent, that the intention of the Assembly had never been to refuse to deliberate upon the four articles.

The King's Commissioners received the deputation about six o'clock. The Duke de Chaulnes answered in general—that the Nobility endeavoured to deceive themselves, by quibbling upon words to justify their conduct;—that the orders and dissatisfaction had been occasioned by their inaction, and the formal design of not proceeding to business, notwithstanding the express commands they had received from his Majesty;—that he would inform the King, by the next post, of their readiness to obey his orders;—that the most effectual method of justifying their conduct would be, to accelerate their usual business as much as they had hitherto been dilatory in it;—and that, with regard to the registering of the King's letter, he readily consented to dispense with it, feeling with them the concern of leaving any traces of it upon their records: and giving them assurances of the eagerness with which he would seize every occasion the States should offer him in future, in proof of their zeal and submission, &c.

But these answers having been taken notice of by several members of the deputation, which occasioned some warmth in the explanation, he added—that he ought not to conceal from them, that his orders were too rigorous, not to announce to them previously, that they were to accelerate the King's affairs, and not to suffer any delay in them.

The deputation having given an account to the Assembly of the success of their audience, the Order of the Nobility appearing not satisfied with it, it

was

was thought proper to close the session; it was then near seven o'clock.

The Nobility, little satisfied with M. de Chaulnes' answers to the deputation of the preceding day, employed themselves with much earnestness, at the meeting of Friday, in pursuing with warmth the affair of the justification, and respecting the several means to attain it. They agreed to a memorial, in form of a letter, which they intended should be presented to the Duke de Chaulnes by a new deputation, for which they demanded the concurrence of the two Orders of the Church and Commonalty. But this memorial, which was read in the Assembly, being drawn up in very unguarded terms, the Order of the Church demanded the assembling of the Chambers, that they might deliberate upon it; and there, through the wise interference of the Presidents, it was agreed, by way of conciliation between the three Orders, that they should confine themselves to a verbal deputation, at the head of which the Presidents were desired, and consented, to go. This deputation was commissioned to insist with the Duke de Chaulnes, in order to engage him to efface the unfavourable impressions that had been given to his Majesty of their conduct, and for that purpose to dispatch a courier, and inform the States of the answer. The Bishop of Rennes, who was the speaker, acquitted himself of this office with all the delicacy and management the subject admitted of; and the Duke de Chaulnes answered coolly, but with politeness, and with still greater art, that the States were not more desirous than he was, that the Nobility should justify themselves to the King, and that they should take

care

care to do it themselves, as they might do by presenting a memorial, which he would immediately send to the King by a special messenger. This answer being carried back to the States, seemed to make them much more quiet than had been expected, and they trusted, without difficulty, to the Bishop of Rennes, and to Count Lannion, who had been desired to draw up the memorial. It was then six o'clock, and the session concluded.

It is to be observed, that after the signature of the deliberations of the preceding day, the President of the Commonalty represented, that by the manner in which they had been drawn up, it appeared, that the intention of the States had not been fulfilled; which was, not to leave any traces of the accusation brought against the Order of the Nobility, or of the King's dissatisfaction: but this representation, however proper it might be, was not attended to.

Yesterday morning Count Lannion, who had been in a fever all night, having excused himself from coming to the States, and the Bishop of Rennes having taken the votes of the Order of Nobility, as is customary in such cases, Count de Lorge was elected First President. Then the Count de Quelen, who had not been able to speak for a moment the day before, signified to the States the demands which the King's Commissioners had charged him to make, for compounding the capitation, the barracks, and the militia; and also an order to the Assembly to cause an account to be given to them, without delay, of the several Committees they had appointed upon the usual affairs, and, among others, of the Committee for settling the terms of the leases, the business of which they were expressly charged in their

instructions to hasten. The general cry was at first to resume the affair of the *Vingtieme*, but the Bishop of Rennes having strongly represented the inconsistency and danger of refusing to deliberate, at the very instant when the States were so warmly employed in justifying themselves from the accusation which had been preferred against them, and in proving that they never had had this intention—though his remonstrance was not in general well-received, yet he pronounced, in the name of his Order, that he demanded that the several Chambers should deliberate upon it. The President of the Commonalty then proposed to the Order of the Nobility, that if they would consent to terminate the memorial of the *Vingtieme*, without making any demands, his Order would accede to it. This proposal being haughtily rejected, the Bishop of Rennes repeated, that the Ecclesiastical Order demanded, that the several Chambers should deliberate upon the King's requisitions, and, after having added at the same time upon the affair of the *Vingtieme*, he withdrew with his Order. In the mean time the Order of the Commonalty remaining upon the spot, and conferring with the Order of the Nobility, with the design that they might draw nearer to each other, more than two hours elapsed in this conflict of modifications proposed and rejected. At length the Commonalty resolved to retire to their chamber, and went out; but, yielding to the solicitations of the Nobility, they came in again presently after, though it was only to lose another hour, in fresh conferences, as unavailing as the former. They therefore went out a second time, to retire into their chamber, and M. Daillon, some time after, returning alone to resume

resume the negotiation; the Nobility seemed to determine upon the conclusion of the memorial of the *Vingtieme*, without making any demands, but with this difference, that the Commonalty proposed to do it in the following terms.

“ If the King will listen to his justice, he will
“ grant us the suppression of the *Vingtieme*, but if
“ the exigencies of the State are an obstacle to
“ this, his paternal bounty will allow us to com-
“ pound it, as the sole and only method of recon-
“ ciling the interests of his Majesty with the relief
“ of his subjects.” The Nobility wanted to add
these other words, *and that we intreat him to grant*
us.

This matter was debated so strongly, without either side giving way, that at length eight o'clock striking, and the fear of passing the night in debates having generally prevailed, the three Orders postponed the whole of the deliberations 'till this morning.

Thus it has sometimes happened to travellers, to walk a whole day, and at last find themselves just in the same spot from whence they had set out. However the Clergy had been much displeased, that after having made the demand of the separate Chambers, and withdrawn to their own, the Commonalty had not followed them. They pretended to justify their conduct by saying, that the Orders ought to have agreed about the object that was to be deliberated upon, before they had withdrawn to the Chambers. The Clergy maintained, that the proposal of the King's demands having been made, the object of the deliberation had been settled, and consequently they had acted according to rule. I would not

take upon me to affirm, that this contest will not be renewed this morning, and that the result will not be the same as yesterday.

On Sunday, after the signing of the Saturday's deliberations, the three Orders withdrew to the Chambers, to deliberate on the memorial concerning the *Vingtieme*, and upon the four papers of the day before, (for so were the orders sent from the King's Commissioners called). But among these papers, there was an order to the States to cause an account to be given to them from their Committees, and especially of the terms of the leases. This order had been registered the day before, as well as the others. At the time of the signing, the Nobility were displeased at seeing it there, and proposed to have it erased, as it was neither necessary nor customary to register those kinds of orders; they persuaded the Order of the Clergy of this, and the order was erased. The Clergy, however, being better informed, and enlightened by the opinion of the Commonalty, which was, that the registry that had been made the day before ought to subsist, returned to that opinion. But the business transacted in the course of the day, did not allow time to set that affair to rights.

The States being then assembled in their chambers, the deliberations began concerning the memorial of the *Vingtieme*, and two hours elapsed before it was irrevocably finished. The Church made a few alterations in the demands, which were at last adopted, and which concluded nothing. The memorial was written out fair, and transmitted in the evening, together with the justification of the Nobility, by the Presidents of the Orders, to the Duke

Duke de Chaulnes, who sent them by a Courier, dispatched on Monday at one o'clock in the afternoon.

The three other papers, concerning the compounding of the capitation, the imposition of the tax, and the administration of the barracks and militia, were afterwards deliberated upon. The Nobility were of opinion to appoint a Committee, to examine what measure would be most advantageous in the present situation of affairs, either to compound the capitation or not, and to give up, or to take upon themselves, the administration of the barracks, and the militia. The opinion of the Clergy and of the Commonalty was uniform, to send a deputation to the King's Commissioners, to demand the diminution of the capitation to fourteen hundred thousand livres *, and to order the imposition of the barracks and militia, the administration of which should be made by a select committee. The opinions of the three Orders, having been sent to all the respective Chambers, the Chambers re-assembled in the hall, and there the Presidents repeated, each of them in the ordinary form, the opinion of their Order; and the opinion of the two Orders of the Clergy and Commonalty being consistent, the Bishop of Rennes accordingly pronounced the decision; but this was done amidst the loudest clamours of the Order of the Nobility, which made them determine, a moment after, to adjourn the States to the next day, and the Bishop went out with the Clergy and Commonalty. The Nobility, in the greatest tumult, seemed inclined to remain; Count Lannion dissuad-

* Upwards of fifty-eight thousand pounds.

ed them from it, but without making them give up their pretensions, that the deliberation was null, and that upon the matter in question, the majority of the two Orders was not sufficient, but that the unanimity of the three was necessary.

The President, in the conference of the evening, having informed the King's Commissioners of this dispute, they judged, according to what was prescribed to them in their instructions, that it was their duty to settle it. Accordingly, they gave the Syndic, Attorney General, an order, which declared, on the part of the King, that in the case in question, the majority of the Orders had been sufficient to constitute a decision, and that such was the King's intention, in all similar cases or situations of the same nature. And the same order commanded M. Berthelot, Clerk of the Records, to inscribe the deliberation upon the records, and enjoined the Presidents of the three Orders to sign it, and the States to register the said order.

The Syndic Attorney General presented himself on the Monday, at the opening of the sessions, and upon the refusal made by the Nobility to hear the deliberations of the preceding day read, he said, that he was the bearer of an order from the King upon that subject, and he delivered it to the Clerk of the Records, to read it, but the Nobility objected to it with a degree of violence, which rose every time the Bishop of Rennes attempted to speak. Perceiving, therefore, the inutility of remonstrances and requisitions, which he made several times to them, and out of compassion to Count Lannion, who had had a fever all night, and was still incommoded with it, he adjourned the States

to the next day: it was then half an hour after two o'clock.

The Nobility, in order to assign a reason for their opposition to the deliberation of the preceding day, said, that it was not according to form: 1°. Because their opinion had not only been previously doing justice to the demands of the King, and that the two other Orders having voted upon the grounds of the question, their opinion could not constitute a majority, since they had not deliberated upon the same object. 2°. That if even it might be said, that they had deliberated, it was not true, that in the business of imposing a tax, or of compounding for one, the majority of the two Orders was sufficient, but that the unanimous opinion of all the three was requisite; and that it was to avoid the decision of this question, that they had opposed, with so much warmth, the reading of the order of the King's Commissioners, being aware, that the order decided the matter against them.

In the mean time, the King's Commissioners had been summoned to attend the Duke de Chaulnes, in order to go with him to the States, to have the order registered, and to cause the deliberation to be signed there in their presence, when they were informed that the States had adjourned.

The whole evening was spent in negotiations, exhortations, and solicitations, to gain over, persuade, or intimidate, the Chiefs of the Nobility. Most of them, indeed, consented to agree to the opinion of the two Orders, but wished to withhold this consent 'till after their return to the chambers, and were desirous that the deliberation of

the preceding day should be considered as if it had never happened, and especially, that no mention should be made of the order of the King's Commissioners.

On the other hand, the King's Commissioners—considering the erasure of the Saturday's order, and the tumultuous refusal of hearing that of the day before read, as a contempt of his Majesty's authority—instituted peremptorily, that the first should be re-established, and the second registered, and that the deliberation should be signed accordingly: and they made no scruple of avowing, that the fate of the Assembly depended upon it, and that they should come there the next day for that purpose.

Things were in this situation yesterday morning, when of a sudden the scene shifted. Count Lannion rose to speak, and, with that persuasive tone which is natural to him, and which he has always found successful, he exhorted the Nobility to prevent the entrance of the King's Commissioners, by acceding to the opinion of the two Orders; and he prevailed. This being done, and the deliberation signed, negotiations were entered upon with the Duke de Chaulnes, to engage him to withdraw the order of the 30th, which was become useless, on account of the date of the 29th, which had been affixed to the deliberation; and he consented to it. So that matters returned to the point from whence they had departed on Sunday. Three successive deputations were sent to the King's Commissioners, at the head of the last of which were the Presidents, to demand the reduction of the capitation to 1,400,000 livres. All these three deputations hav-

* Upwards of fifty-eight thousand pounds.

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ing been ineffectual, probably this morning, new measures will be taken, to be dispensed from deliberating definitively upon this article, 'till the arrival of the answer to the memorial of the *Vingtieme*, which is expected Saturday or Sunday, by the return of the Courier dispatched on Monday.

The sessions of the Wednesday and Thursday have been very quiet, and the three Orders have been in perfect harmony. They deliberated unanimously upon the report of the President de Bedée. Afterwards, the three Orders acceded to the opinion of the Nobility of the 29th, upon the subject of the capitation, and to appoint a Committee to examine, if, in the present circumstances, it would be advantageous or not, to accept a composition; and the session ended by agreeing to proceed the next day to the election of a substitute; which took up the whole time of yesterday's sitting. M. Chapelier was elected by the votes of the Clergy and Commonalty. He had eighteen votes in the Church, twenty in the Commonalty, and forty-five in the Nobility. M. Jelin had had seventy-seven votes in the Nobility, sixteen in the Church, and sixteen in the Commonalty. M. Abeille had had no more than forty-nine votes in the Nobility, one in the Church, and five in the Commonalty. The election being over, a wish was expressed to elect a second; and it was decided unanimously, by the three Orders, to send a new deputation to the King's Commissioners; to whom the Duke de Chaulnes has been graciously pleased this time to promise to write about it.

It seems as it were settled, that the King's Commissioners are to send this morning to the States,

to make the demand of the usual funds of two hundred thousand livres * for the subsistence of the troops, of fifty thousand livres † for the studs, and of eight thousand livres ‡ for the Marshalsea, and the Select Committee shall begin their report.

By advices from Britany, dated 5th of November, we are informed, that the King's Courier had brought to the Duke de Chaulnes an answer to the last memorial of the States, which he has not chosen to communicate, but has verbally said, that the King persisted in his first answer, and would be obeyed.

The assembly of the States, holden in consequence, has been very turbulent. A great ferment was particularly excited against the Bishop of Rennes, and they separated without concluding any thing. They were to assemble again the next days. Things were in this state when the post set out.

The sitting of the Sunday passed in negotiations, tolerably peaceable, between the Nobility and the two other Orders. After having in vain attempted to prevail upon them to send a deputation to demand a composition, at first plainly and afterwards in obscure terms, finding that they could obtain nothing of them while they remained at variance, and being desirous of knowing the last answers which the Commissioners had received upon the subject of the *Vingtieme*, they proposed to solicit the Duke de Chaulnes, that he would be pleased to send to the Assembly the letter which he had received in answer to their memorial. The Clergy,

* Upwards of eight thousand pounds.

† Upwards of two thousand pounds.

‡ Upwards of three hundred pounds.

thinking the demand of the letter unhandsome, and indiscreet, softened the matter, by proposing to intreat him only to communicate to the States the answers which he had received to their memorial; and the Nobility consented to it. The Commonalty added, to inquire if the Duke had not received any more favourable and more circumstantial answers to their memorial, than those he had notified to them the day before; opinions were accordingly taken, and the deputation was sent according to the opinion of the two orders of the Clergy and Nobility; and the States, after having appointed the deputation, and having commissioned them to give an account of it the next day, adjourned: it was then four o'clock.

The Duke de Chaulnes made answer to the deputation, that he had sent them, the day before, the only answer he had to give with regard to the suppression, and composition; and that, with respect to their grievances, if they would collect them all, and appoint a Committee to draw them up, and confer upon them with the King's Commissioners, he declared to them, that his Majesty had authorized him to redress in the present sittings, those which should appear well founded to him.

This answer being reported the next day to the Assembly, was received with more ill-temper than ever; the only reply made to it, was a general exclamation: *To the chambers!*—and accordingly the Orders retired to them, and still remain there; for the sittings of yesterday, and of Monday, were null; and they ended at three o'clock, the Chambers still assembled, as it had been agreed so in retiring to them.

By

By letters from Rennes, dated the 10th of this month, we hear, that the States assemble every day as ineffectually, from ten o'clock in the morning till two o'clock in the afternoon, and always separate with the Chambers assembled, without doing any thing; that the Nobility persist in not attending to any other deliberations, except on the composition; and that the two other Orders, persist in not acceding to this, being not inclined to agree to a formal demand of a composition: that on the 9th, the King's Commissioners had sent an order to the Syndic Attorney General, at the opening of the Assembly, to read the decree of Council of the 2d of November, serving as an answer to the memorial of the grievances upon the *Vingtieme*; which was accordingly done: that the Order of the Nobility, without any other answer or deliberation, adjourned the States for the next day; that this had been done, notwithstanding the representations of the Bishop of Rennes, and Count Lannion, who were desirous that this decree should be submitted to the examination of the Committee of the *Vingtieme*, to give an account of it to the Assembly, and make their observations upon it: that this decree contains eight articles, which determine the form of the declarations, and pronounces double and quadruple penalties, even retrospective, for the years 1750, 1751, and 1752, against those who shall have made false declarations.

Answer of the States of Britany to the King's Commissioners.

“THE States of Britany have nothing more dear to them than the rights of franchise, and liberties of their

their country ; they cannot in honour and conscience consent to any incroachment upon those rights which their ancestors have transmitted to them as the most precious portion of their inheritance.

“ The most essential of these rights is, that no levy of money can be set on foot or continued, in their country, without their consent, nor beyond the duration of that consent. This fundamental point of the constitution of their government, which their antient Sovereigns, at their coronation, swore to maintain, and the observance of which has been solemnly promised in 1532, when Britany was united to France with the consent of our forefathers ; this right, acknowledged in all the contracts which the States have since passed with the Commissioners of the Kings, predecessors of his Majesty, and with those of his present Majesty likewise, has been violated in the imposition and collection of the *Vingtieme*, and is evidently threatened with further incroachments in future.

“ This grievance affects the States so sensibly, and it is a matter of so much importance to them that it should be redressed, that it makes them forget, in the present moment, every thing they have suffered from the administrators of the *Vingtieme*, however injurious that may have been. They cannot conceive that a Sovereign so equitable as their glorious Monarch, should wish to annihilate so authentic a right ; a right, which he maintains and preserves himself, by the solemn promises he makes to the States, in the contracts which his Commissioners pass every two years in his name with them.

“ These States deserve the more that this right should be preserved to them, as they themselves have made

made it yield, as much as possible, to the exigencies of the kingdom; and it is upon the same principles that they persist in offering to impose the *Vingtieme* upon themselves, and to raise, till the holding of the subsequent States, in two years hence, upon the funds appropriated to the *Dixieme*, the sum of nine hundred thousand livres * per annum, and to transmit this sum to the sinking fund, as the amount of this composition; which they cannot agree to upon any other terms: every other mode of levying this tax being too oppressive to the people of Britany!

Letter written from Rennes, 12 November.

“ WE are at the last gasp, and nothing but a miracle can save us. Yesterday morning, at the opening of the Assembly, the King’s Commissioners signified to the States, by the Syndic Attorney General, the subjoined order of his Majesty, with an injunction to read, to register, and to execute it, according to its form and tenour, under pain of disobedience. The order being read, two hours were passed in dreadful confusion, a great number of the Order of the Nobility instigating each other to go out of the Assembly, and all of them were resolved not to register it. In the midst of this tumult—when the representations of the Presidents, concerning the respect and obedience due to an order from the King, signified to them with the most authentic form and authority, could not be hear’d, or not attended to—the Commonalty demanded the Chambers, and the Clergy being of the same opinion, they withdrew to

* Thirty-seven thousand five hundred pounds.

" them; and there, after having resisted all the con-
 " ferences and insinuations of the Nobility—who
 " wanted to engage them to send a deputation to his
 " Majesty's Commissioners, to intreat them to with-
 " draw the King's order—the Commonalty sent in
 " their opinion to register it. The Clergy waited
 " for a long while, to give the Order of the No-
 " bility time to send in their opinion; but after hav-
 " ing waited in vain till seven o'clock, they sent
 " their own, which was the same as that of the Com-
 " monalty, to register the order; and at nine o'clock
 " the three Orders agreed to withdraw reciprocally,
 " the Chambers still continuing assembled. God
 " only knows what will be the event of this to-day.

" At the meeting of Friday, the Bishop of Ren-
 " nes proposed to withdraw into the chambers,
 " to deliberate upon the decree of Council of
 " the second of this month, and accordingly de-
 " manded the Chambers. The Commonalty were
 " of the same opinion, and went there. But the Or-
 " der of the Nobility persisted in fixing the business
 " to the general object of the *Vingtieme*, without
 " making mention of the decree of Council. A
 " memorial was, however, read in the Order of No-
 " bility, containing observations on the dispositions
 " of the said decree; which tended to prove, that, far
 " from redressing our grievances, it increased them;
 " and the Clergy, on their part, are employed upon
 " the same object, and are also inclined to find ob-
 " stacles and great difficulties in the execution of
 " the said decree. But the events of the day be-
 " fore have prevented any thing being done upon
 " this matter. The opinion of the Commonalty
 " had been, to send the said decree to the Committee
 " of

“ of the *Vingtieme*, in order that the observations
 “ they might make upon it should be sent by depu-
 “ tation to the King’s Commissioners, after they had
 “ been approved of in the Assembly.”

BY THE KING’S COMMAND.

“ The King being informed, that by an abuse
 “ which has been introduced in the States of Brita-
 “ ny, one of the Orders, being desirous of hindering
 “ any deliberation upon the affairs signified to the
 “ States, refused to give any opinion ; so that the
 “ dispatch of the said affairs is entirely stopped : and
 “ his Majesty, wishing to reform an abuse as injuri-
 “ ous to his service as to the real interest of the
 “ province, hath commanded, and doth command,
 “ that each of the said three Orders shall deliberate,
 “ and give their opinion without any delay, upon
 “ all the said affairs, of whatever nature they may
 “ be ; and as soon as one of the said Orders shall
 “ have given their opinion, the two others shall be
 “ obliged to give theirs within four-and-twenty
 “ hours, without any regard to the rank which it
 “ may have been customary to have been observed
 “ amongst themselves in giving it ; the whole on
 “ pain of disobedience. And in case one of the
 “ said two Orders, which may have delayed in giving
 “ their opinion, should refuse to give it in the four-
 “ and-twenty hours, his Majesty’s pleasure is, that
 “ as this refusal can only be considered as an opinion
 “ contrary to that of the two other Orders, the de-
 “ liberation shall be and remain formed by the
 “ plurality of the two Orders against one ; and, as
 “ such, inserted in the register, and signed by the
 “ Presidents

" Presidents of the three Orders. This his Majesty
 " will have executed, notwithstanding all protests,
 " oppositions, and other acts of resistance; which
 " from this present time he declares null and of no
 " effect. Nevertheless, his Majesty does not mean,
 " that one of the said Orders refusing to give their
 " opinion, the deliberation should be considered as
 " formed by the suffrages of the two other Orders,
 " in those cases, wherein, according to the regulations
 " of the said States, the deliberations cannot be
 " formed but by the suffrages of the three Orders.
 " His Majesty enjoins his Commissioners to the said
 " States, to cause the present order to be read in
 " their Assembly, to have it transcribed upon the
 " register of their deliberations, and to attend
 " strictly to the execution of it. Done at *Fontaine-*
 " *bleau*, the 24th of October 1752.

" (Signed) LEWIS.

" And lower down, PHELIPPEAUX."

By letters from Britany of the 15th we learn,
 that the Nobility had done all in their power to en-
 gage the Clergy to send a deputation to the King's
 Commissioners, to communicate their observations to
 them, upon the decree of the 2d of this month, and
 to draw a conclusion from them;—that, being
 employed together upon this principal affair of
 the Assembly, the order of the King had ar-
 rived unseasonably; but that the Clergy would not
 submit to it, and the Nobility had deputed four of

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their members to intreat the King's Commissioners to withdraw this order ;—that the Duke de Chaulnes answered them, with a great deal of politeness, that their demand could not be complied with ;—that the marks of good-will, with which this answer was softened, made the Nobility receive it with good temper ;—that Count Lannion went to the Duke himself, and received the same answer, accompanied with much regret on the part of M. de Chaulnes, not to be able to shew them this civility ; that on Monday morning, the Duke de Chaulnes, and the King's Commissioners, signified to the Assembly, that they would come there ;—that the Duke de Chaulnes having taken his place, putting his hat on, and being seated, said, that having been informed that the King's order had not been registered, he was come to have it registered in his presence : he caused it to be read by the Secretary, inscribed in the register of deliberations, and signed by the Presidents of the three Orders, and had a copy of it transcribed for him immediately ;—that Count Lannion had prevailed upon the Order of Nobility, to behave with respect and silence, and they strictly kept to it, as well as the two other Orders ;—that after the departure of the King's Commissioners, the Order of Nobility adopted different opinions, but without tumult, to remonstrate to the King upon the said order ;—that on the 14th in the morning, this plan of remonstrances was read to the Assembly, and approved of by the three Orders, which directed that they should be inscribed upon the register, and carried by a deputation to the King's Commissioners, who were to be solicited to support them with their
good

good offices ; which was accordingly done. The object of the remonstrances is, to ascertain the right of the States to enjoy the interior œconomy of their deliberations, and of their regulations, and to shew that the King's order could have no other motive than to take that right from them, which his Majesty's goodness induces them not to fear ; or that of punishing them for the abuse of it, of which they endeavour to justify themselves ;—that on the 15th they were in the Chambers assembled, at the going off of the post, to deliberate upon the subject of the decree of Council of the 2d of this month.

We hear from Britany, that the States assembled the 15th, had retired into the Chambers to deliberate upon the plan of fixing the object of their grievances ;—that after some debates it was agreed, that, without losing time upon the object of the composition, or upon the administration, the Presidents should tacitly confer with the King's Commissioners, in order that their answer might be deliberated upon the next day ;—that the Duke de Chaulnes, as the only answer to the Presidents, had shewn them three letters, one from the King, another from the Keeper of the Seals, and the last from M. de St. Florentin, which expressly forbid him to listen to any thing more about the affair of the *Vingtieme*, upon any pretence whatsoever ; but that, notwithstanding this, he would take upon himself to write about it, if the States sent him a deputation for this purpose, being persuaded that his Majesty had only refused to allow Britany to compound, because no other province of the States had obtained this privilege ; that the instance of Languedoc made him hope he should

obtain for the States the same administration of the *Vingtieme* as that province had ;—that this answer did not in the least satisfy the Nobility—who declared, they would not ask for nor adopt any other plan of administration than that which the States should have judged capable to redress their grievances. Upon which the three Orders appointed Deputies from each of them, to agree upon the principal points of the plan of administration, and to draw up the articles, which were fixed to the number of six ;—that it was decided by the States, that the Deputies who had drawn up these articles, should go to M. de Chaulnes, in order to confer with him upon them, without, however, entering into any engagement, till after they had themselves made their report to the States of the deliberations taken in consequence ;—that those Deputies having laid before M. de Chaulnes the desire, and the reasons of the Assembly for obtaining an administration of the *Vingtieme* which might redress their grievances, he had shewed them the same letters as before, and that the only reason which could authorize him to listen, and to propose any demand from them upon the subject of the *Vingtieme*, and which he would take upon himself if the States made the proposal to him, was to supplicate his Majesty to grant them the same administration of the *Vingtieme*, which his Majesty had granted to the States of Languedoc ; that he could do nothing more ; and that he exhorted the Chiefs to reflect upon the danger of insisting upon any thing further ; and that he had given way only to the repeated solicitations of the Deputies, that he would listen to the plan of their administration ;—that it was
much

much to be feared this answer, when reported to the Assembly on the 17th, would rekindle in the Order of the Nobility that flame which had raged with great violence the day before.

By the letters from Rennes of the 19th, we learn, that M. de Chaulnes' answer had not satisfied the Nobility, but that, notwithstanding, they had hear'd it with better temper than was expected; and that, upon the representations of the Presidents of the three Orders, who had informed them, that this was the only mode the Duke de Chaulnes had the power to take upon himself, the States had agreed to send a deputation to the Duke, to intreat him to write, in conformity to his answer, and to know what treatment Britany might expect, in relation to her unhappy situation, to her rights, and the difference in the nature of her property, in order that, upon the answer from the Court, communicated to the Assembly, the States might follow the measures they thought most proper;—that accordingly the Duke de Chaulnes had sent off a Courier, whose return was expected on Tuesday evening;—that the rest of the sitting was taken up in continuing the report of the intermediate Committee;—that the Bishop of Rennes made a report of three matters concerning the five larger farms, and upon which they had determined;—that they might have continued to receive the reports of the two other Committees, but that the Nobility had opposed this;—and that it appeared no other report would be made till the return of the Duke de Chaulnes' Courier.

By the letters from Rennes, dated the 22d, we are informed, that no other business had been done since Sunday, but to continue the report of the intermediate Committee, from which some few articles of little importance had been extracted, which had been deliberated upon;—that the contents of the news arrived the day before from Court, were not yet known, though it had transpired that they were unfavourable;—that the courier extraordinary was expected, who was to arrive in the evening, and bring the answer back.

They write from Rennes of the 24th, that the King's Commissioners had entered, the day before, into the Assembly of the States;—that the Duke de Chaulnes had caused to be read and registered there three letters, one from the King, which forbids, upon any pretence whatever, all remonstrances upon the subject of the *Vingtieme*, his Majesty having pronounced definitively upon that matter, in his decree of Council of the 2d of this month, upon penalty of disobedience; another from the Keeper of the Seals, who signifies, in the strongest terms, the dissatisfaction of the King with regard to the conduct of the States, and orders that they should be separated, upon the first refusal they shall make of deliberating, at the end of four-and-twenty hours; that his Majesty, condescends, by favour, to grant them the same administration upon the *Vingtieme*, as he hath just granted to the States of Languedoc: the last letter, from M. de St. Florentin, explains the intentions of the King, respecting his Majesty's order of the 24th of October last, the execution of which is ordered in perpetuity, and in case of opposition, the Assembly is to be separated. The Duke, after having made the Presi-

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dents sign these letters, had ordered a copy of them to be taken; and that every thing had passed in the most profound silence on the part of the States—that after the Commissioners were gone out, several of the Nobility had proposed, as their only resource in the present conjuncture, to draw a verbal process of the proceedings of the States since the opening of them, and afterwards to desire M. de Chaulnes to close them; but that the majority of the States had formally opposed this proposal;—that the Bishop of Rennes, having attempted to shew, in the strongest and most pathetic terms, the danger and ill consequences of the least resistance to the King's will, this had occasioned the most violent tumult; and that, in order to put an end to it, the retiring to the Chambers had been demanded, to continue the report of the affairs already begun: affairs of little importance.

November 26. The last session has been as tumultuous as the preceding ones. The proposal made there by the King's Commissioners, to proceed to settle the new lease of the farms, met with the warmest opposition on the part of the Nobility; and to calm this heat, all the eloquence and firmness of the Bishop of Rennes was necessary, as well as all the flexibility and address of Count Lannion. They have had ample occasion to exert and to display their talents, from the acrimony that prevailed in the Assembly; which perhaps they may soften so far as to induce them to obey the order of the King's Commissioners.

November 29. After several debates upon the report of the Committee on the subject of the terms of the leases, it was agreed to depute to the King's

Commissioners, to ask their approbation of the alterations which the States meant to make in the present lease. The Duke de Chaulnes, after having consulted with the other Commissioners upon the two alterations which were the subject of dispute, softened the first, which consisted in communicating to the parties concerned, the verbal processes in cases of rebellion, before they were brought into a Court of justice; but he absolutely refused the second, which was, that the States should be allowed to fix the price of brandy. Two other deputations sent to the Commissioners upon the same subject, upon the solicitations of the Nobility, have been equally unsuccessful. The Duke de Chaulnes has proceeded, upon his own authority, to the first proclamation of the lease by the Heralds of the States; the refusal of being allowed to fix the price of brandy, has thrown the Nobility into such a rage, that the ensuing session will most probably be rendered null by it, as the two preceding ones.

In the Assembly of the States of the 1st of December, the farm of the duties, after many debates among the three Orders, has been adjudged to M. Daucour, at four millions five hundred thousand livres*, notwithstanding the menaces and protests on the part of thirty of the members, who were of an opinion contrary to this determination, under pretence that it ought not to have been passed till after the terms had been deposited in the Secretary's office.

By the letters from Rennes of the 3d of December, we learn, that the sessions have been very tumultuous

* One hundred and eighty-seven thousand five hundred pounds.

tuous upon the subject of the proclamations made against the will of the States, and of the advanced prices received; against which the Nobility wanted to protest in the strongest terms, declaring the proclamations made, the advanced prices received, and the assignments that might follow, absolutely null, and exposing all the infringements that had been made in the present session, upon the rights, liberties and franchises of the province; but that the Church had endeavoured to soften matters as much as possible, and at length brought the States to consent to the following determination.

“The States, perceiving that the proclamation, and the setting up of the farms to sale, have been made before the terms were deposited in the Secretary’s office, against the disposition of Article III. chap. vii. of the regulation of 1687, and without observing the intervals prescribed by the said regulation, protest against the form in which these proclamations have been made; and accordingly charge the Syndic Attorney General, and the Deputies in Court, to attend, that in future the said regulation shall be observed according to it’s form and tenour.”

The second advanced price, which was settled by the King’s Commissioners, was adjudged to M. Darignou for five millions *, and against the wish of all the Nobility, the major part of whom withdrew. Previous to this, it had been proposed, on the part of the Commissioners, to deliberate upon different gratifications to be granted; among others, 15,000 livres † to the Duke, and as much to the Duchesse de

* Upwards of two hundred thousand pounds.

† Six hundred and twenty-five pounds.

Chaulnes. The Nobility opposed the entering into any deliberation on this subject.

By the letters from Rennes of the 8th, we are informed, that the decree of Council for the administration of the *Vingtieme* was not yet arrived; and that the States appeared very impatient for it.

That in their last business, they had granted several pensions, and bought a stallion of Limoges for the studs of the bishopric of Quimper, at 1,500 livres *.

That on the Thursday morning, the Duke Chaulnes, alone and without guards, according to custom, had come into the Assembly, to recommend, in the name of his most Serene Highness, the Duke of Penthièvre, the Bishop of Vannes, the Marquis de la Riviere, and M. du Bodan, Mayor of Vannes, for the deputation to the Court; the Abbé Cué, the Marquis de la Maisons, and M. Kerebar Sénéchal de Léon, for the deputation to the Chamber of Accounts. The States withdrew into the chambers to deliberate, and they deliberated at the same time upon the continuation of their Treasurer in his employment; upon which the opinion of the three Orders was unanimous.

By the letters from Rennes of the 10th, we learn, that M. de Lorgénil, Dean of the Nobility, had been elected President of that Order: and that the States had deliberated upon the granting of extraordinary gratuities to the Presidents of the Orders, to indemnify them for the extraordinary expences of their table; and that a gratuity of 95,000 livres † had been granted for this purpose, besides the 40,000

* About sixty guineas.

† Near four thousand pounds.

livres * usually allowed to the Presidents : that the customary gratuities had also been granted to the Syndics Attornies General, and an extraordinary grat † of 6,000 livres † to the Count de Quelen.

That the Bishop of Rennes intreated the States to take in good part the refusal he thought himself obliged to make, of the gratuity of 30,000 livres ‡ they had granted ; and M. de Chaulnes refused, with a great deal of politeness, the 15,000 livres § which the States had offered him in testimony of their gratitude, his post not allowing him to accept of this present without an order from the King.

That afterwards a sum of 139,250 livres || was settled for the business of the King's statue, which M. le Moyné is commissioned to make ; and the different pensions vacant were disposed of in favour of the military Cadets.

That the Commonalty espoused the cause of M. Duclos against the Order of the Nobility, who had refused to join him to the Deputies in Court to take care of the business of the King's statue, as he had been associated with them in the sessions of 1744, 1748, and 1750, in which he was personally charged to compose the inscription.

By the letters from Rennes of the 13th, the Commissioners have again proposed the registering of the four decrees of Council in question. The States

* Between one and two thousand pounds.

† Two hundred and fifty pounds.

‡ One thousand two hundred and fifty pounds.

§ Six hundred and twenty-five pounds.

|| Near six thousand pounds.

have not agreed to this proposal, and it has transpired, that the Commissioners are to go to the Assembly, to enforce the registering of these decrees. The Clergy and the Commonalty having been of opinion to set apart a fund of 600,000 livres † for the high roads, the Bishop of Rennes has announced this decision, in the midst of the greatest tumult, and the Nobility have protested that the decision was null, on account of the want of unanimity in the three Orders.

From Rennes, the 15th. The States have commissioned their Deputies in Court, to endeavour to obtain from the King terms which they mean to ask for, respecting the high roads, for which a sum of 600,000 livres † has been decreed.

The King's Commissioners came into the Assembly on Wednesday, where the Duke de Chaulnes caused to be registered, in his presence, the four decrees which the States had rejected. After their departure, the Nobility exclaimed violently against this registry, and resolved to commission the Deputy and Syndic Attorney General, to form an opposition to the said decrees, and to repair to Court, after the closing of the States, to make remonstrances to the King upon this subject.

After this, the Syndic Attorney General caused the decree of Council to be read, concerning the administration of the *Vingtieme*, which contains five articles. As it was late, the deliberation was postponed to the next day; and, in order to appoint the Commissioners of this Committee, the Nobility obliged on this day the States to take the opinions

† Twenty-five thousand pounds.

by scrutiny; and there was a majority of 107 votes against 28, to reject the administration; as insufficient to remedy the total ruin of the province, and even to refuse their consent to the imposition of the *Vingtieme*. The Orders being all of different opinions in the Assembly, the deliberation upon them has been postponed to the morrow; but the resolute opposition of the Nobility does not permit us to hope for any good success.

The Nobility persisting in their opinion, and the other two Orders not agreeing upon theirs; the Commonalty and the Church were desirous that there should be no decision; but the Nobility, pretending that the rejection of the administration would follow of course, insisted, that of the three different opinions, theirs ought to have the ascendant, and to form the decision, not only to reject the administration, but also to refuse their consent to the imposition of the tax. The session was obliged to be closed, and the Syndic Attorney General returned to the King's Commissioners the decree of the administration, which they took back on the 16th. The Nobility, still persisting in the same principles, seemed as if they would not yield; but at length they gave way, and agreed to the proposal of inserting the three opinions in the register, adding to them the following words: "Accordingly, the States have commissioned the Syndic Attorney General to return to the King's Commissioners the decree of Council of the 8th of this month, and the document subjoined to it."

The Committee for the poll-tax are to make their report, upon which the States are to deliberate whether they will accept of a composition or not.

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The last sittings of the Assembly of the States of Britany have been more or less tumultuous, according to the nature of the objects they have had to discuss. As they are of little consequence, no notice has been taken of them. Let it suffice to say, that the Nobility have always maintained their system, and they have acceded only by compulsion to the decisions that were contrary to their sense of things. They have drawn up a memorial, in form of remonstrances to the King, which the Deputies in Court are commissioned to present, and the minute of which has been deposited in the office. It was reckoned, that the States might have been closed on the 21st in the evening; but the session having ended too late, this cannot be till the 23d of this month.

At length, information has been received, that the States had been closed on the 23d, with a protest on the part of the Nobility, against all that has been done contrary to their opinions and privileges. The Duke and Dutchesse de Chaulnes, returned yesterday to Paris.

List of those of the Nobility of Britany, who have Letters of Cachet, and the Place of their Confinement.

- M. and Madame de Pyré, at Saintes.
- M. de Kerfauson, at Issoire at Auvergne.
- M. de le Bernerais, at Angoulême.
- M. de Kerquesec, at Ganat, in Bourbonnois.
- M. de Keratrice, at Issigny, in Normandy.
- M. de Begas, his uncle, at Vitoux, in Burgundy.
- M. de

M. de Begas, his nephew, at Gueret, in the province of la Marche.

M. du Lattay St. Péon, at Nevers.

M. Duthoya Baron, Seneschal of Quintin, at Montmorillon, in Poitou.

M. de Vavincourt, at the Mount St. Michel.

M. Deschard, to the Charitains, at Pontorson.

M. Bedogere, at Angoulême.

Messieurs de Trousier, de Langourla, de Sceaux, and le Mantier, are to be confined, and conducted, as the two preceding gentlemen, into castles, by the Marshalsea, and at their own expences.

It is not known where the Bishop of Rennes has received order to remain, in his diocese.

N^o III.

*Abridgment of the Life of Lewis Mandrin *, Captain of a Band of Smugglers; with an exact Account of his being taken, and of the Execution of his Sentence.*

LEWIS MANDRIN, of an obscure family, born at Saint Etienne de Saint-Geoirs, a village near the coast of Saint André, in Dauphiné, entered into the service in France, as soon as he was old enough

* This piece has been written by order of Government, to make it believed that Mandrin was not taken up by the King's troops, and that this was done without the consent of the Court.

to carry a musket. He deserted. He soon re-entered the kingdom, where two of his brothers and he took to coining. Being pursued, and thrown into prison at Grenoble, one of them was hanged, another sent to the galleys. Mandrin alone escaped; he was nevertheless condemned, it is said, for non-appearance, to the gallows. Finding himself outlawed, and not knowing what to do, he turned jockey, which employment he followed some years; but having committed a murder, he was again condemned to be broken upon the wheel, by a decree of the Parliament of Grenoble. He afterwards became a Captain of Smugglers, a set of vagabonds, outlawed as he was. His extortions, the murders, and other crimes which he continued for near two years, are made public in the sentence pronounced against him at Valentia, the 24th of May 1755.

Mandrin, with Saint Pierre, brother to his Major, and five or six more of his people, were surprised in the night from the 10th to the 11th of May, by the Clerks of the farms of the Dauphiny, who had disguised themselves: he did not make the least resistance; and they conducted him to Valençoiix, with a strong escort.

The first four days every body was permitted to speak to the prisoner: he answered with tolerable politeness all the questions that were asked him, when not indiscreet; at other times, he answered bluntly, especially to the Monks and Ecclesiastics; but he did this only when he was in liquor. M. Levet had given orders to give him whatever he should ask for. It is false, that Mandrin spoke insolently to him; very far from it, he always shewed him a great deal of respect. He was examined every morning

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and evening. He was confronted with two of his servants. Mandrin answered to the deposition of one of them, who was called the great Bertier, that the deposition of a footman ought not to be depended upon. The man named la Pierre, conductor of his horses, and who had deserted from the volunteers of Gantés, replied, that he ought not to be suspected of wanting to impose upon the tribunal of this world, as he was soon to make his appearance before the Sovereign Judge. He was successively confronted with other prisoners of his troop, witnesses of his crimes; but he answered, that probity required of him to say nothing about other people, that being a matter which did not concern him.

A barber's boy, who was kept in prison on suspicion of smuggling, was set at liberty, upon the proofs which came out from the evidence in Mandrin's trial, that the latter had forced him, some days since, to enter into the troop merely for the purpose of shaving him. However resolute Mandrin seemed to be, the punishment of two of his comrades, and the good dispositions with which they suffered death to expiate their crimes, made some impression upon him, especially at the instant when the executioner came to seize and lead them to the scaffold; but he soon drowned the gloomy ideas that agitated him in wine. Hardened in sin, he had no confidence in the Clergy, and had declared, that he would not confess himself to any priest or friar in the city. A Lady belonging to the *Charité*, who had seen him every day in prison, renewed her intreaties, to prevail upon him to confess himself, on Saturday the 24th of May, the day of his trial; but this respectable Lady could not prevail.

The next day, she was more fortunate ; she spoke to him with so much zeal, that she made him shed tears : seeing him moved, she proposed to him for a confessor Father Gasparini, an Italian Jesuit, a man of merit, of the house of Tournon, who was at that time in the house of the Bishop of Valentia. She went to tell M. Levet the state in which she had left Mandrin ; M. Levet went to the prison, and told him that he came to see him, not as his judge, but as his friend ; that he would procure him whatever he wanted ; that he could not exhort him too often to reflect upon his past conduct, and to return to God. M. Levet affected him so much, that he wept bitterly.

He sent the Reverend Father Gasparini, after having spoken highly of him, to endeavour to affect him still more. It was reported, that this Father first entered into conversation with him about indifferent matters, that he afterwards spoke to him upon the business of his salvation, and that at length he prevailed upon him to confess himself. The criminal wanted to put it off to the next day, but the Father, knowing that Mandrin was to be executed on the 26th, persuaded him to begin his confession on Sunday. He concluded it on Monday, after having had his sentence read to him ; and he performed this act of religion with all the demonstrations of the warmest repentance.

This great criminal was executed without having undergone the torture, because, on the very instant that they were beginning to put him to it, he owned some crimes which he had not acknowledged before. He went to the scaffold with the same resolution that he had shewn in the engagements at Beaune and Grenan, dying in a much more Christian manner than the number and the enormity of his crimes seeme-

seemed to promise. He encouraged those who had taken upon them to exhort him; he was a very different man from what he was at that instant, when, speaking to one of his accomplices taken along with him, he said in a tone of bravado, on seeing him weep a great deal, that it was not worth while to make one's self uneasy for a disagreeable quarter of an hour; it was soon passed. His countenance, which had no fierceness in it at first sight, interested every body in his favour. His Judges, who were obliged to condemn him, could not refuse him their pity; even the executioner could not refrain from tears. *It is not for me, said Mandrin, that you should weep, it is for my crimes,* then added, embracing him: *Do your duty, my friend, with as much speed as you are able.* He stopped a few steps from the scaffold, to examine the construction of it, with a boldness which was, no doubt, the sign of a perfect resignation: he mounted it with firmness, spoke little, and only these words could be heard: *Young folks, take example by me, and you Executioners, I ask your pardon.* Could any one imagine that this was the same man, who has so frequently occasioned them such dreadful alarms? On the instant that the blows were going to be given, he said, *I am in need of all my strength; pray give me some cordial to drink.* The Reverend Father Gasparini, who had some about him, gave it to him. Mandrin drank some of it, and his face was rubbed with it. The Father, who found himself faint, likewise made use of it.

Mandrin had undressed himself, and had made a sign that it was not necessary to cover his face. As soon as he had received the nine strokes, he was strangled, a mitigation which does honour to the humanity

humanity of his Judges. Thus expired, at half an hour after five in the evening, on Monday the 26th of May 1755, and ended his active career, this Chief of the smugglers, who had had the hardiness to fight with M. de Fisher, and whom chance favoured so far that he escaped from him. Such was the end of Lewis Mandrin, two years after he had been among the smugglers. He was more composed at the time of his death than any of the spectators. Some say he was only twenty-nine years of age, others thirty-nine. He was about five feet four inches high, very well shaped; had a lively look, and a good leg; his face was long, his eyes blue, and his hair a bright chesnut; and the whole of his figure was very pleasing. He was not entirely destitute of some qualities of the mind; his repartees were quick, and to the purpose. Had he cultivated the good dispositions he had received from nature, it is to be presumed that he would have been something else than a great villain. He was very robust, swore much, was for ever smoking, drank hard, and was exceedingly fond of good living: he was in every thing less bloody-minded than his comrades. On the morning of his execution, his confessors speaking to him of a clerk in the passage-boat of the Rhone, to whom he had granted his life; Mandrin answered, *I easily forget my acts of benevolence.*

He had inquired, in another tone of voice, of the Lady who was speaking to him about his confession and salvation, *how many alehouses there were between this and paradise*, adding, that *he had no more than six livres* to spend upon the road.* These words, and

* Five shillings.

others,

others, collected from the mouth of Mandrin, will serve to give a complete idea of his character.

It is certain that it was he who conducted all the marches and counter-marches, and directed the operations of his company. Some people, who think themselves acquainted with the turn of the other smugglers, pretend, that not one of them is entirely capable of succeeding him. From the Rhine to the Mediterranean, over a range of forty leagues, he was not unacquainted with any one track.

It is said, that in one of the conversations Mandrin had with M. Levet, he told him, that he had had, at three different times, an opportunity, if he had chosen to make use of it, of killing him, or of causing him to be carried off by his band; and he mentioned the circumstances to him.

THE SOVEREIGN SENTENCE which condemned to be broken upon the wheel Lewis Mandrin, the Chief of the Smugglers who have committed the crimes and disorders mentioned in the sentence of the 24th of May 1755, executed the 26th of the same month.

JASPER LEVET, Lord of Malaval, Counsellor, King's Secretary, Judge Delegate of the Council, appointed by decrees of the 3d of December 1738, 2d of October 1742, and 2d of April 1743, to hear, and to judge sovereignly, and without further appeal, the actions against smugglers, fraudulent collectors, and unlicensed dealers in salt, their aiders and accomplices, in the province of Dauphiny, Provence, Languedoc, Lyonnois, Burgundy, Auvergne, Rouerque, and Query.

According to the aforesaid decree of Council of

the 3d of December 1738, and the commission under the great Seal upon the same day, &c.

We the Judge Delegate of the aforesaid Council, in virtue of the power given to us by the aforesaid decree of the 3d of December 1738, with the advice of the Graduates, Judges, Assessors of the Commission, to the number required by the ordonnance, have declared the said Lewis Mandrin, a native of St. Etienne of St. Geoirs, in this province of Dauphiny, duly attainted and convicted of having carried on a contraband trade, with an armed band, for two years, since he was obliged to quit the above-named place of Saint Geoirs, on account of the proceeding against him on the accusation of coining and distributing false money, and of assassination: and namely, of having been the principal Chief of a band of eleven or twelve smugglers, five or six of which were detached to the village of Gurfon, the 7th of January of last year, in order to go and meet the five Collectors of the brigade of Romans, who suffered them to come near them, thinking that they belonged to some other brigade; and the smugglers, taking advantage of their surprize, fired at them, killed two of them, wounded two others, one of whom died of his wounds a few days afterwards, stole the arms of the said Collectors, the horse of the Chief of the brigade, who was one of those who was slain, his cloak, and his gold-laced hat, which the aforesaid Mandrin has worn;—and for going, in the night from the 8th to the 9th instant, to the house of a man named Dutret, one of the Collectors of the brigade, on horseback *du Grand Lamps*, and after having ill-treated, and threatened to kill him, stole his arms, and obliged his wife to conduct them

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to the stable, from whence they took the horse of the
aforesaid Dutret ;—for being the Chief of a band
consisting of above thirty, who, on the 7th of June
following, attacked the Collectors in their guard-
room, at the bridge of Claix, upon the Drac, after
having caused their door to be opened by surprize,
killed one of the aforesaid Collectors, wounded
several of them, stole their arms and effects, as like-
wise some belonging to a private man, who had a
house near the abovementioned *corps de garde* ;—
of those who making the most considerable part of
the aforesaid band, on the 10th instant fired, near the
village of Laine, upon some Collectors of the bri-
gade of Taulignan, who were upon the great road
from this town to Montelimart, in order to go to
their post, killed one of them, wounded three others,
one of whom died a few days after ;—of the three
in number belonging to the same band, who the
next day, the 11th instant, having remained at the
alehouse of Tiouille, in the parish of Saint-Bazile, in
Vivarés, before the aforesaid alehouse, fired at a
Serjeant of the regiment of Belfunce, taking him for
a Collector or a spy ;—which band went then to
Rouerque, where they committed several depreda-
tions, and particularly killed, on the 23d, a woman
who was with child, belonging to Saint-Rome de
Tarn, at whose house a private man, pursued by some
of the aforesaid smugglers, wanted to take refuge on
the 30th. They forced the Clerk of the magazine at
Rhodes to take some of their tobacco, and to pay
the price for it stipulated by the aforesaid Mandrin ;
and they wrote to the Deputy of the Intendancy, to
make him return the arms deposited in the town-
house, which had been seized some years before from

other smugglers. On the 3d of July following, they also obliged the Clerk of the magazine at Maude to take some tobacco from them; and on the 9th of the same month, while the said Mandrin was retiring into Savoy or Switzerland, and passing with his band at the aforesaid place of St. Etienne of St. Geoirs, he killed the named Sigismond-James Moret, formerly a Collector, and also a child of eighteen months, whom he had in his arms, upon suspicion of the aforesaid Moret's having been the cause of the taking Peter Mandrin, his brother, who was executed for coining;—for having been the principal Chief of that band which penetrated, towards the end of last July, into Franche-Comté, killed, wounded and robbed several Collectors of the brigades of Mouthe and of Chaneuve;—and also of that band which penetrated from Savoy into France, the 20th of August following; forced, on the 26th, the Clerk of the magazine of tobacco at Brieude to give them a sum of money, under pretence of depositing in his office some rolls of tobacco; on the 28th, forced the retailers of tobacco at Craponne to pay them likewise a sum of money, on pretence of having remitted some tobacco to them; as also the Clerk of the magazine at Montbrison, at which place they forced open the prisons, and set eleven prisoners at liberty; and, passing by the Pont-de-vele in Bresse, stopped two Collectors of the brigade of Cormoranche, whom they robbed of the greatest part of the salaries of the brigade, of which they were the carriers; and on the 5th fired, near the castle of Joux, upon some Collectors they met with, one of whom was killed and others wounded;—for having been one of the numerous band, also as principal Chief, which penetrated

penetrated from Savoy into Pugey, in the night of the 3d of October last, practised some extortions upon several Receivers from the general lessees of the King's farms, under pretence that they left them some rolls of tobacco; the same on the 4th, at Nantua; on the 5th, at Bourges in Bresse; on the 6th, at Chatillon les Bombes; on the 9th, at Charlieu; at Rouanne, on the same day; on the 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th and 14th, at Thiers, Amberg, Marfal, Arlan, and la Chaise-Dieu; on the 17th, they made the proprietors of the corn, who were in the granaries of the house occupied by the Clerk of the magazine at Puy, to pay the sum of 600 livres *, to prevent them from carrying off their corn; on the 17th, 18th, 20th, 21st, and 22d, continued their extortions upon the Receivers, Clerks of the magazines, and retailers of tobacco, at Pradelle, Langogne, Tance, St. Didier, and St. Bonnet le Château; on the 23d, at Montbrison, and at Boën; and on the 24th, for the second time, at Charlieu; fired upon the postilion who drove the Diligence, to see if there were not somebody in it whom he was in search of; on the 9th, passing by St. Just-en-Chevalot, they went in search of the Collectors, who were fired upon, one of them being dangerously wounded; his arms and effects, as well as those of the Chief of the brigade, were plundered, and stolen;—on the 16th, forced the office of the magazine of Puy, and the house of the Clerk, stole, pillaged, and broke the tobacco, effects, and furniture of the said Clerk; wounded two Collectors who had been appointed to

new money to be
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the guard of the said magazine; also plundered, on the 21st, at St. Didier; on the 22d, at St. Bonnet; on the 25th, at Clugny; and on the 27th, at Tri-vier, the houses of the several Collectors of the said places; as also on the 28th, at St. Laurent in Franche Comté, where a Collector was killed; stole likewise several effects from a house in Orgelet on the 27th; forced open the prisons of Bourges, Thiers, le Puy, Montbrison, Clugny, Pont-de-vaux, St. Amour, and Orgelet, and carried off several of the prisoners;—as also for having been at the head of that band which penetrated from Swisserland into Franche Comté, in the night from the 14th to the 15th of December last; fired, on the 16th, upon the troops of the regiment of Harcourt, who were passing near an alehouse where the said band was stopped, killed one of them, and stole his arms, coat, and cloak; on the 17th repaired to Seurre in Burgundy, where he went after the Collectors, and stole the effects of the Captain-General, after having forced the door of his apartment and of his closet; compelled the Receivers of the salt and of the tobacco magazines to pay them a sum of money, and the latter to give them an acknowledgment for a number of rolls of bad tobacco, which they left in his office, where he was obliged to stow them;—on the 18th, forced the citizen's guard of one of the gates of the city of Beaune, after made his dispositions, at some distance from the city to get into it, upon the information received that they were mounting the guard there,—killed two citizens who composed part of this guard, and wounded others; killed also a soldier, who was in the said city upon
leave,

leave, and who was accidentally upon the rampart near the said gate; obliged the Mayor to come to the suburbs to speak to the said Mandrin, to treat with him of the sum meant to be extorted; compelled the said Mayor to write to the Receivers of the salt and tobacco magazines, to bring the sum stipulated and fixed by the said Mandrin at 20,000 livres*, which was accordingly done by the said Receivers;—which band forced likewise, on the 19th, the Mayor and the inhabitants of Autun to open the gates of the city to them, threatening to scale the walls, to put the suburbs to fire and sword, and to carry off a number of young Clergymen, whom they had met at some distance from the said city, going to take orders at Châlons, and whom they had obliged to return with them, detaining them as hostages till they had received the sum required from the Receiver of the salt-magazine, and the Clerk of the tobacco-magazine, which was fixed and agreed upon in the town-house, where the said Mandrin, and two more of his band, assembled, the greater part of the band having remained before the said town-house;—on the 20th, at the village of Guénand, in the parish of Brion, they fought with the King's troops, upon whom they fired first, killed and wounded several officers, foldiers, dragoons, and hussars; and both at Seurre and at Autun forced the prisons, and set the prisoners at liberty;—for having afterwards assembled thirty-one or thirty-two smugglers of the said band, at the head of whom Mandrin put himself, and who, on the 21st, stole

* Upwards of eight hundred pounds.

four

four horses, arms, and accoutrements, belonging to four horsemen of the Marshalsea, at Dompierre in Bourbonnois; on the 22d, murdered at Breuil, five Collectors of the brigade of Vichy, though some of them begged their life upon their knees;—on the 26th, murdered a man at St. Clement, under pretence that he refused to shew them the houses in which the Collectors were, whom they imagined to be in the said place;—on the same day, and on the 24th, by different acts of violence and threats, obliged the Receivers of Cervieres and of Noire-Table, to pay them a sum of money, and at the last place, fired against the door of a house of a Chief of a brigade of the farms, and wounded his wife, who was on the other side of the door to open it; of which wound she died some days after;—on the 25th, practised some extortions upon one of the retailers of tobacco of la Chaise-Dieu, and on the 26th fired upon a party of cavalry of the Volunteers of Flanders and Dauphiny, at Sauvetat in le Melay, and killed a Quarter-master; and, in a word, the said Mandrin having besides written and signed most of the receipts for the sums extorted from the said Receivers, Clerks, and retailers, in some of which he has declared, that the sums so extorted had only been paid to him on account of acts of violence and menaces; and having likewise written upon the jailor's books, of the prisons of Bourg and Seurre, the attempt made by him upon the said prisons:—For the reparation of which, and other crimes disclosed in his trial, we have condemned the said Lewis Mandrin to be delivered up to the executioner, who is to conduct him in his shirt, with a rope about

about his neck, having a label fastened to it, upon which shall be printed, in large characters, these words : *Chief of a band of smugglers, robbers, and disturbers of the public tranquillity* ; and holding in his hand a lighted torch of wax, of the weight of two pounds, before the gate of the cathedral church of this city, which faces the street de la Pérolerie, where the said Mandrin, his head being bare, and kneeling, shall do public penance, and shall declare with an audible voice, that he asks pardon of God, of the King, and of the legislature, of his crimes and enormities ; from thence he shall be conducted to the *place des Clercs*, where his arms, legs, thighs, and loins, shall be broken while he is alive, upon a scaffold raised for that purpose ; and afterwards fixed on a wheel, with his face upwards, there to end his days ; after which his dead body shall be exposed by the said executioner upon the gallows of this city ; previous to all which, the said Mandrin shall suffer torture both ordinary and extraordinary, for not having acknowledged from his own mouth the truth of any of the facts proved in his trial, and for not having discovered his accomplices :—We declare all and every of his effects confiscated to the King, the sum of ten livres * penalty being previously deducted from them, in case the confiscation should not take place, to the profit of his Majesty ; and the sum of one thousand livres † being also deducted, as a penalty to John Baptist Bocquillon, Lessee General of the farms, and the expences of the

* Eight shillings and four pence.

† Upwards of forty pounds.

trial ;

trial; in which penalties and expences we have condemned the said Mandrin towards the said Boquillon, in consideration of his petition of yesterday. And the present sentence shall be printed, read, published, and fixed up, in all the cities and places within named, and in all other parts which it may concern. Given at the Criminal Chamber of the Preſidial Court of Valentia and Dauphiny, on the 24th of May, 1755.

(Signed)

*Levet, Gaillard, Luillier, Bolozon, Bachasson,
Rougere, de l'Etang, and Cozon.*

And lower down is written :

On the 26th of May, 1755, the above sentence has been read by me the undersigned Secretary of the Commission, to the said Lewis Mandrin, and executed the same day, agreeably to it's form and tenour.

(Signed) *N. Léorier.*

Speech of Count Noailles to the King of Sardinia.

THE King, my master, owed to himself the disavowal he has made of all that has passed upon your Majesty's territories, and the care he has taken to have the criminals punished.

The sentiments he has always entertained for your Majesty, have not allowed him to confine him-

self to an attention which could only satisfy justice; he has been desirous that this circumstance should contribute to strengthen the ties of friendship, by which he is no less connected with you, than by those of blood. I am come from him to bring you the most solemn testimonies of it.

Nothing can be more honourable for me, than to execute this order, dictated by the heart of the King my master, and to assure your Majesty, that your friendship will always be dear and precious to him.

N° IV.

Summary of the Maritime Forces of the States of Europe.

MUSCOVY.

IN 1750, the navy of the Empress of Russia consisted of fifty ships of the line, and near thirty frigates, besides eighty galleys or half galleys; but the sailors that were numbered amounted to no more than 25,000.

SWEDEN, 1753.

The navy of this kingdom consists of 22 ships of the line, 10 frigates, 66 galleys or half galleys, and 200,000 sailors.

DENMARK, 1754.

Ships of the line 33, frigates 16, galleys 50, the sailors exceed 25,000, among which are to be reckoned those that can be furnished from Norway.

HOLLAND, or the Republic of the United Provinces.

The navy of this Republic is inconsiderable, it only consists of 20 or 22 ships of the line, and 12 or 15 frigates; they have a great number of sailors, full 100,000. Every thing necessary for the construction and fitting out of ships being in great abundance in Holland, that Republic can very speedily repair it's marine.

VENICE,

VENICE, 1753.

The maritime forces of this Republic consist of 14 ships of the line, six frigates, 20 galleasses, and 25 galleys.

NAPLES.

Two ships of the line, six frigates or xebecs.

TUSCANY, 1751.

One ship and four frigates.

MALTA.

Three ships of the line, two frigates, and five galleys.

PORTUGAL, 1755.

Sixteen ships of the line, 13 frigates, and one xebec.

SPAIN, 1755.

Forty-one ships of the line, 29 frigates, two packet-boats, four bomb-ketches, and three fire-ships.

GREAT BRITAIN, 1755.

One hundred and thirty-one ships of the line, and 112 other armed vessels.

FRANCE, 1755.

Sixty-seven ships of war, 31 frigates, 10 pinks, two armed barks, four xebecs, and five sloops of war.

These ships are all of the line, and are all of the first rate.

N° VI.

The most humble and most respectful remonstrances presented to our much-honoured Sovereign Lord the King, by the persons belonging to the Court of Aids.

S I R E,

THE war you have just declared against your enemies, had been announced by the impatience of your subjects: their just indignation made them consider it as unavoidable, at a time when your Majesty's moderation was pursuing all possible measures to prevent it.

There is certainly no one who is not sensible of the necessity of the extraordinary succours required by your Majesty, and no one who is not ready to devote a part of his fortune to them.

The French nation have at all times distinguished themselves by their attachment to the sacred person of their masters; and they cannot possibly forfeit this sentiment, in an instance, where it is not so much the people who fight for the glory of their Sovereign, as the Sovereign himself who takes up arms for the interests of his people? Could they be insensible to those insults, and repeated violences, which have rendered the authors of them odious to all Europe; while the justice of your Majesty's cause has made it the common cause of all Sovereigns?

Can any one complain of a contribution, the destination of which is previously justified by the powerful succours given to our commerce and to our colonies,

lonies, by a prodigious augmentation in your navy, and by conquests as useful as they are glorious?

No, Sire, your faithful subjects are ever animated with the same spirit; they are also the same principles which direct the proceedings of the Courts to which your Majesty has intrusted part of your authority, only upon the special injunction to acquaint you with the abuse that might be made of it.

Your Court of Aids, on account of their daily functions, can more readily observe the inconveniences attendant on the multiplicity of imposts; and, on the irregular mode in which it is too customary to levy them, cannot avoid taking notice of the prejudice which would accrue to your subjects from the unlimited execution of the three declarations of the 7th of July last.

They would have been liable to censure, had they neglected to lay their most humble and most respectful remonstrances at the foot of your Throne, upon a subject so interesting: but the time in which these three declarations have been presented to us, was too near to that in which the new subsidies they impose were to be collected; so that every delay, every procrastination, might have been prejudicial to the obtaining of a subsidy become necessary; reasons of State have therefore prevailed over every other consideration, and your Court of Aids have immediately, and without hesitation, proceeded to register what was ordered them; they have not feared that their representations, which ought naturally to have preceded, should lose any thing of their force. They have flattered themselves, on the contrary, that their earnest solicitations would find a readier access to your heart, and that their speedy obedience would furnish them with

a fresh plea for presenting with confidence to your Majesty some reflections, the only aim of which is the good of your service, and the relief of your people.

The payment of subsidies which are required to carry on the most just and unavoidable war, would be an insupportable burthen to the people who supply them, if they did not consider the end of them as one of the first advantages which the return of peace is to procure. But, Sire, how can your subjects support themselves with these hopes, while fresh charges are imposed upon them, though they still remain burthened with part of the imposts levied during the last war, without being able to foresee some fixed and certain period, when they may flatter themselves with the suppression of them? Your Court of Aids will never lose the remembrance of the glorious events of that memorable war, and they can readily conceive, that the expences which have paved the way for the success of your arms, may have produced a considerable derangement in your finances.

This was the reason which induced your Majesty to keep up the first *Vingtieme* after the peace, and if the period of it was not then determined, it was because the debts were not yet entirely liquidated, for the discharge of which the money accruing from this *Vingtieme* was intended; but it is not probable, that in the course of eight years tranquillity, the state of these debts should not yet be ascertained.

This, Sire, is what occasions the greatest alarms to your people; they are terrified at the idea of the perpetuity of the impost, and it is a very difficult matter to calm their anxiety; when, on the one hand, they consider the assurances which your Majesty has given,
and

and has just now renewed to them, that the produce of the former *Vingtieme* shall be employed in cancelling the debts of the State; and on the other hand, when, instead of a fixed time, which might have been settled, for the cessation of this tax, they find it announced to continue ten years, which are only to commence from the uncertain epocha of the publication of a peace; so that the termination of this impost is thus made to depend upon a period with which it is entirely unconnected. If the debts were not known, or the states of them had not been fixed, would there not be reason to fear that the revolution of ten years after the peace would be an insufficient time to fulfil an object, the extent of which was not known? But if, as there can be no doubt, the debts which are to be cancelled are ascertained, no motive can prevent your Majesty from determining with certainty the time in which you will be able to put a stop to this tax.

The first *Vingtieme* was presented to your people in 1749, not only as the means of bringing about the liquidation of the debts of your State, but also as an economical operation; which, joined to the order your Majesty proposed to settle in the administration of your finances, was to furnish you with resources capable of insuring, in times of necessity, the glory of your State, and the tranquillity of the allies of your Crown, without your being obliged to have recourse to extraordinary measures.

So flattering a prospect alleviated the burthen of this new imposition, and was the occasion that your Courts did not at that time adopt such vigorous proceedings, to ask for the suppression of it, or at least to obtain that the time of it's duration should be

fixed. But how greatly were your subjects affected, when they were informed, that after seven years, the end proposed was so far from being accomplished, and the cancelling of the debts was in such little forwardness, notwithstanding the annual payment of the first *Vingtieme*! They despaired of ever seeing the end of their misfortunes, when, contrary to the hopes that had been suggested to them, the first instant of the new war had been marked by the imposition of a new *Vingtieme*, and that your Majesty was already obliged to have recourse to those extraordinary means which you had wished to avoid.

We will not penetrate, with indiscretion and rashness, into the employment or distribution of the immense funds which have been consumed during the course of the preceding war; but we cannot avoid observing, that if the succours, which your people were then eager to furnish your Majesty with, joined to those you may have drawn from your conquests, have been insufficient; if the State has been indebted in the sum of more than four hundred millions *, as the time proposed for the duration of the first *Vingtieme*, seems to announce, the fears of your subjects, on account of that which is just established, will readily admit of excuse.

Your Majesty's promise removes their fears, as far as it is expressed in certain and precise terms; but the obscurity with which it seems in some respects to be enveloped, must necessarily alarm them, especially in these unhappy times, when they may be allowed to form conjectures of every possible event.

* Upwards of seven millions sterling.

It has happened more than once, that the real cessation of war has not been immediately followed by the proclamation of peace: we have seen a recent example of this, even in the reign of your Majesty; and upon that occasion you gave a striking testimony of your love for your people, by putting an end to the impost, at the instant of the termination of that war for which it had been raised.

We make no doubt, that, if similar circumstances should present themselves, your Majesty would consider what passed in 1737 as a rule for your conduct; but the uneasiness of your subjects can only be dispelled by more precise assurances: your people, alarmed, implore you for these assurances; and your Court of *Aids*, who know the sensibility of your heart, flatter themselves that this favour will not be refused them.

There are, Sire, other intreaties which we shall venture to make to your Majesty, and we are not afraid of saying that the object of them is at least as interesting, since the business is to put a stop to a number of injustices which are committed, under pretence of the execution of your orders, and under the sanction of your authority.

The burthen of the taxes, and the uncertainty of their duration, have excited our just complaints; it is however certain, that the mode of levying them still adds to the rigour of the impost itself.

A tax which would equally affect all your subjects, in proportion to their income and powers, would undoubtedly be the most just and equitable kind of imposition; but it becomes more burthensome than any other, when it is fixed upon ideal and unjust estimates;

and indeed, what justice can be expected, when the labour of the husbandman, the industry of the mechanic, and the credit of the merchant, are become objects of taxation?

The article XI. of your edict of the month of May 1749, orders, that contributions shall be levied upon private traders and others, whose profession it is to circulate their money to advantage; and as, when this article was drawn up, the inconveniences of it were foreseen, it was added, that there should only be required of them, *declarations of property of different kinds from those mentioned in the articles IV. and V. of the present edict.*

Your Majesty, by so wise a restriction, had undoubtedly in view to prevent the abuses that might have been made of the severe cast of the article, and to hinder an odious perquisition from being made in the interior of families, under pretence of confirming the declarations of individuals.

But, on the other hand, there was no longer a possibility of prescribing a rule for this repartition, which, according to the terms of the edict, was to be proportioned to the incomes and the profits of the persons taxed.

It has therefore been necessary to resort to arbitrary valuations, and the persons concerned in the *Vingtieme* levied from branches of industry, are obliged to wait their destiny from a decision which can only be made upon uncertain estimates; a decision, against which, nevertheless, it would be useless to appeal, as it is equally impossible for the person taxed to prove the injustice of it, as it has been for your Majesty's Commissioners to make it with justice, and with a proper knowledge of the matter.

Such

Such is the condition, Sire, to which the merchants and mechanics of your kingdom are reduced, those citizens so precious to the State, who labour with so much efficacy in time of peace, as well as in war, to render your empire more and more flourishing, and to increase your riches and your power.

It is upon them that the whole burthen of this impost falls, which we are not afraid to call an odious one; and the suppression of which we venture to ask of you.

Among your subjects, some live upon their paternal inheritance, the income of which they annually consume, without increasing or diminishing the national riches; these people have never been included in the arrangement of the XIth article of the edict of 1749.

Others have increased their fortunes, and even accumulated immense riches, by the profits they have made in collecting the royal money, or in gathering the taxes established for the profit of your Majesty; it should seem reasonable that these persons, preferably to any others, should be comprized in the class of individuals whose profession it is to make the most of money, and who, on that account, are most liable to pay the *Vingtieme* levied upon industry; it is, however, universally known, that they have been fortunate enough to be exempted from it.

It is therefore trade alone, and the arts dependent upon it, which are become the objects of this tax, the most severe of any, since it is the most arbitrary; and it is this subjection which is the occasion of the discouragement and disgust that prevails among those who have embraced those useful professions.

Those

Those among them, whose fortunes are the most considerable, formerly made a parade of their opulence, in order to enlarge their credit; at present they are obliged carefully to conceal their legitimate profits, in order to escape the researches of the Directors of your imposts, or to subject themselves to an exorbitant tax, if they wish to support this credit, which sometimes constitutes the whole of their riches.

Several of them have already refused to be concerned in any undertakings of hazard, having learnt, by disagreeable experience, that their fortune is valued according to the exertions they are seen to make, without considering what success they are attended with, and that they cannot obtain any alleviation, whatever losses they may have experienced.

Every considerable establishment will soon become ruinous to those who will venture upon it, if they have not had the art to insure the protection of the arbiters of the tax, by persuading them of the utility of their enterprizes.

Hence it follows, that the spirit of intrigue will take place of every other species of industry; emulation, that necessary foundation of commerce, will be extinguished, and foreigners, freed from so many impediments, will be able to enter into competition with prodigious advantage.

How great are these objects, Sire! how worthy are they to engage your Majesty's attention! and how proper is the moment in which we present them, to make you sensible of their importance! The citizens, whose interests we are defending, are those who by assiduous labour, at perpetual risks, and by calculations almost infinite, have found out the means

of

of making our arts admired by foreign nations, and of enriching us with the produce of their luxury; they are those who keep up a necessary circulation of specie and provisions between the mother country and your colonies;—those precious colonies, the sources of the riches of France, and the object of the jealousy of so many nations; they are those, in a word, and those alone, who bring plenty into the heart of your kingdom.

It is unnecessary to expatiate any longer upon a truth, of which your Majesty is already fully convinced: if your Majesty could have any doubt about the importance of supporting and protecting the commerce of your subjects, your enemies would have convinced you sufficiently of it, by the efforts they have lately made to annihilate it. Your Majesty has felt the attempt that has been made against your power, by drawing away the source of the riches of your people:—you have taken up arms to defend them—you have considered the advantage of trade, and the security of the colonies, as the real objects of the present war, and as one of the benefits you expect to derive from your conquests.

After these marks of powerful protection, would your Majesty still persist in imposing upon merchants and mechanics this tax, which will ever be an inexhaustible source of vexations and uneasiness?

It is with the most respectful confidence, Sire, that we have ventured to present these observations to you; we have thought them worthy of engaging the attention of a great King.

Give us leave to join another description, calculated to make an impression upon the heart of the best and most affectionate of fathers.

We

We have just presented to you that powerful class of merchants, whose vast enterprizes have appeared to us to deserve your Majesty's attention. But there is another class of citizens, whose industry, though it cannot be too much encouraged, yet serves itself as a pretence for new taxes. These are the persons whose daily labour increases the value of the productions of the earth, and the mass of real riches: subjects necessary to the State; since it is from them alone that the general trade of the kingdom derives all it's strength, and all it's substance; men who are perpetually enured to labour and fatigue, whose indigence alone ought to be a motive for assisting them, and who, on account of their obscurity, are exposed to oppressions, which always remain unpunished, because they are always unknown.

The Magistrates, to whom your Majesty has intrusted the administration of each province, who are chosen from each, are worthy, no doubt, of the confidence with which you have honoured them; but is it possible, that every one of those among whom they are obliged to divide the authority they have received from your Majesty, should be equally incapable of making a bad use of it?

It is, however, to these subaltern Ministers, that the evaluation of the powers and industry of the unfortunate mechanic is intrusted; and they themselves cannot proceed to these estimates, but on the report of men of a rank still inferior, in whom they are obliged to confide.

What a number of abuses must arise from this subdivision of an arbitrary authority? and what resource is left to the unfortunate sufferer, who has neither the leisure nor the boldness requisite to make himself

be

be hear'd, and to appeal against this oppression ? What a number of animosities, acts of revenge, and vexations, must not such an administration give rise to ?

Thus it is, that, under the most just of Kings, injustice, which would not dare to shew itself openly, becomes more active in obscurity. Thus it is, that an operation, ill-combined, and erroneous in itself, is the cause of a multitude of abuses, which could not be foreseen, and which cannot be destroyed, but by attacking the principle of them ; and these are precisely the objects upon which the most humble and most respectful remonstrances of your Courts are to dwell.

The greatness of your Majesty, and the important cares in which you are employed, do not allow you to descend into details, nor to perceive the evils which you alone can remedy. It is in order to be informed, and to put a stop to them, that you have constituted us, not only the Judges of your people, but also their patrons and their defenders, and that you have intrusted us with the care of laying before your sacred person the complaints of the unfortunate.

Let us not, therefore, neglect this precious opportunity of making you acquainted with the oppression under which your people have laboured for so long a time ; and we will not conceal from your Majesty, that what we have already represented as the object the most capable of exciting your sensibility, is only the least part of the arbitrary taxes which are levied upon your subjects, under several names and under several pretences.

Without entering into the detail of irregular, and of course unjust taxes, we will only fix your attention upon

upon that which has taken place in your kingdom for more than sixty years, without your subjects having any judicial modes to obtain redress or any tribunals to which they can appeal; an impost which is guided by the same principle as the *Vingtieme*, upon branches of industry, which is levied in the same manner, and which occasions the same abuses; an impost the more burthenfome, as it falls indiscriminately upon every individual; and as, since it's establishment, it has been augmented by a simple order from your Council, without your Majesty's having made your Courts acquainted with it, and without this augmentation being made known to the persons taxed in the regular form.

We should be wanting to the most essential part of our duties, and should abandon the interests of your people intrusted to us, if we were silent any longer, and if we did not join to the representations we have made to your Majesty concerning the *Vingtieme* upon branches of industry, our most humble supplications, that you would for the future establish certain rules, as much for the collecting of the capitation, as of the other imposts which are arbitrarily levied in your kingdom.

How happy for your people, and how glorious for your Majesty, will this day be, if we are fortunate enough to convince you, and to induce you to reform the abuses of an insupportable part of administration, and to engage you to apply an immediate and efficacious remedy to it! Your Courts will then no more be obliged to represent to you their alarms and their fears upon the subject of the perpetuity of imposts. Your subjects, witnesses of the effect which the exposition of their grievances has had upon

upon you, and of the care you will have taken to alleviate them, will be very far from having any uneasiness relative to the employment or the duration of the succours, which in these unfortunate times you will have thought necessary.

But, however useful this reform may be to your people, the zeal of your Court of *Aids* would not be thoroughly satisfied, if, contenting ourselves with representing to you the abuses already introduced, we neglected to inform you of their original cause.

This cause, Sire, is neither uncertain, nor difficult to be detected; we may trace it from the infraction of the laws of your kingdom, of those laws, less respectable for their antiquity than for the wisdom which has dictated them.

It is to the prejudice of those august laws, that the cognizance of the disputes which have arisen on the subject of the *vingtieme*, and on the Capitation, has been taken from the regular tribunals, and that no alternative has been left to your subjects, who have thought themselves injured, but either to submit to an unjust tax, or to appeal to the person who is the author of it, by demanding of him to reform his own work.

It is by means of these attributions of authority, as burdensome to your people as they are irregular, that the arbitrary administration, the pernicious effects of which we have laid before you, has been established. How is it possible that it could have subsisted so long, under the inspection of Magistrates, friends to order, and accustomed never to give a decision till they have obtained adequate information? Your

Your Court of Aids, to whom it alone belongs to take cognizance of all the imposts that are levied upon your subjects, do not claim the restoration of this jurisdiction, if, in order to preserve it, they must adopt the established modes of collecting arbitrary impositions.

It is not the cognizance of the disputes relative to the *Vingtieme* imposed upon industry, which your Court requires; it is the total abolition of this tax, which can never be collected with equity; and if that Court represents to you the many incroachments made upon it by frequent attributions of authority, it is only to make known to your Majesty the prejudice which results from thence to your people.

Your Court of Aids, created at the same time as the first imposts, over which their jurisdiction has been established, ought not to omit any opportunity of retracing to your Majesty its origin; as a precious monument of the justice and goodness of our Kings.

It was in consequence of the intreaties of the whole nation, represented by its Deputies, that the appointment of the ancient Directors of the Aids was granted, and the moment in which the People obtained this favour from their Sovereign, was that in which the three Orders of the State had just been giving a striking proof of their zeal, in their eagerness to offer a voluntary contribution.

To make an equitable division of this, Judges were asked for, who were to be chosen from the people. To receive the appeals of the sentences issued from these new tribunals, a superior Court was created, composed of the principal persons of each of the

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the three Orders of the State. The persons destined for this important function, were chosen by the States themselves, and presented by them to the Monarch, who condescended to approve them, and intrusted them with the exercise of his sovereign authority.

Soon after, some cruel wars, and which became more expensive than in preceding ages—powerful leagues, formed by the enemies of the French name—the necessity of maintaining, in time of peace, a considerable number of regular forces—with a multiplicity of other circumstances added to these, changed the form of government in the interior of your kingdom, as in that of the other European States; the momentary succours furnished by the people in times of war proved insufficient; the taxes settled for a limited time became perpetual; the laws which regulate the collecting of them, were multiplied to such a degree, that the Judges appointed to take cognizance of them were obliged to forego every other occupation, to attend intirely to this laborious function.

Then it was that your Court of Aids assumed a form similar to your other Courts, but without ever departing from it's primitive institution, and without losing the right it has ever maintained, of affixing, by each registry, the last seal to the Royal authority to the edicts notifying the establishment of taxes, and of taking sole cognizance of the disputes relative thereto; rights which it can never relinquish, since they are inherent in it's constitution and in it's essence.

Such are, Sire, the authentic titles which we would lay before your Majesty, if, after having presented you with the spectacle of public misfortunes, we

could bestow a thought upon the personal interest of our Company.

But this is not at present the motive that animates us; we claim our rights, only because they are the rights of your people; we only complain of having been disturbed in the exercise of our essential functions, because this disturbance is the beginning and the cause of the vexations to which your subjects are exposed. It is in their name, and not in our own, that we implore your Majesty to leave to the Court of Aids the free exercise of their jurisdiction, and to restore to his people their natural Judges.

The tax which is levied upon industry, being defective in it's nature, could never have borne the examination of justice; it is not, therefore, surprizing, that there should have been a desire of exempting it from our cognizance. But the principal part of this tax, which regards real estates, is susceptible of a more exact regulation, and a more equitable valuation. From what motive, and under what pretence, has it been comprized in an authority given by your Majesty to the Commissioners distributed in each province?

In vain would any one endeavour to prove to you, that the levying of this contribution, in order to be done with exactness, ought to be founded on a previous estimation of the grounds, and other landed property of your kingdom, and that this estimation could not be made but by informations taken upon the spot, or by other operations, which the tediousness of formalities did not allow to be made in a judicial form.

This motive was plausible in the beginning, and your Court of Aids have testified by their silence, that

the interest of their jurisdiction was never the object of their proceedings, when it came in competition with public interest.

But this impost, renewed on three different occasions, has been now levied without interruption for the space of fifteen years. What kind of direction must this tax then have been submitted to, if, after so long a time, the valuations have not yet been settled?

Undoubtedly this ought to have been done; and, if this work is not yet completed, what is become of the advantages that were expected from the administration of the Commissioners of your Councils.

We will say no more, Sire, upon so interesting a point, and which already has so often been the subject of the most humble and most respectful remonstrances of your Courts.

We shall not quote the numerous laws by which all kinds of appeals have been proscribed, nor the acknowledgment of our greatest Kings, who have declared the abuse of them on several striking occasions.

We will not dwell upon the inconveniences which arise from stripping the tribunals, to substitute to them one single Magistrate, who even can only give to the objects presented to him a cursory attention, being for ever taken off by occupations of a different nature.

These important considerations are too present to your Majesty, to make it necessary to recall them to your memory.

We shall content ourselves with uniting under one single point of view, the numerous abuses which result from the commissions and attributions of

authority given to individuals in matters of taxation.

We have set before your eyes a sketch of those which are introduced in the levying of the *Vingtieme*, of the Capitation, and other taxes, the cognizance of which has been injudiciously delegated to Commissioners; let us add to this, the creation of those irregular tribunals established upon the frontiers of your kingdom, to judge definitively of the offences relative to the customs of your farms.

We shall not endeavour to criticize the conduct of those Commissioners; but, while we suppose them possessed of all the qualifications requisite for the functions they exert, we shall confine ourselves to authenticated facts.

Two very real misfortunes are—on one hand, the terror which these irregular tribunals spread among the people; and, on the other, the great number of sanguinary executions which have been made under their authority, since they exist. The necessity of putting a stop to smuggling, has been the pretence for these formidable establishments. Let us judge, from recent instances, whether this practice is put a stop to, or even decreased, in your kingdom.

If we should carry our observations farther, and consider, as citizens and faithful subjects of your Majesty, objects which are immediately under our cognizance, objects of which we are not allowed to take notice as judges, what confusion will arise in the administration of justice! what consternation will prevail in other Companies!

One of your Courts has had almost the whole of it's functions taken from them, upon the simple request

quest of the Farmer of the Customs of your Majesty ; respectful complaints have been carried to the foot of your throne, very strong justifications have been presented to your Council, without it's appearing that they have been attended to ; this kind of interdiction has lasted for seven years, and, during so long an interval, a subaltern Judge has been authorized to fill the functions of a Court, with a privilege, as it is said, to appeal to your Majesty's Council ; as if the most of the affairs which concern the Farmer of your Customs were objects of so considerable a nature, as to oblige oppressed individuals to come up from the extremity of the remotest provinces, to bring their complaints to the capital.

Another Company, deemed formerly worthy of your Majesty's favour, is at present oppressed with the weight of your indignation, after having been deprived of their most important functions ; it's Chiefs are dispersed, the Company itself is disgraced by the most humiliating condemnations. These strokes are equally fatal to the magistracy and to the people, who are subordinate to them ; they are acts of severity, to which your Majesty never consents without reluctance, and which always affect your paternal heart, even at a time when you think justice requires them.

We shall not here undertake to justify those unfortunate Magistrates ; this is an object foreign to our representations, and of which we have no judicial cognizance. If any voice should be raised in their favour, it ought to be that of the province wherein they rendered justice to your subjects, and which has been witness to their conduct and their

misfortunes: the consternation which prevails there, is a testimony to which we could add nothing.

But there is one reflection remaining for us to make, which can never come improperly from us, which is, that the disgrace of that Company, and the misfortunes which have been the necessary consequences of it, have owed their first origin to one of those irregular attributions of authority which are the objects of our complaints and representations.

The importance of the objects we have already treated of, and the extent which we have been obliged to give to them, will not permit us, Sire, to expose in the same detail the inconveniences of the several imposts comprehended under the name of customs reinstated, and other rights, the levying of which you have ordered by a declaration of the 7th of July.

It will undoubtedly have been observed to your Majesty, that the imposts only fall upon the people of your capital; and great stress will have been laid upon the easy circumstances of it's inhabitants, and the prodigious riches which abound and are consumed in that immense city.

But let us be permitted to represent to you, that it is upon the poorest portion of your people that part of these taxations fall; and that this capital, so rich, and so able to furnish powerful succours, has always been honoured with peculiar marks of the benevolence, and, if I may venture to say it, with the predilection of your Majesty, and of the Kings your predecessors.

Your Majesty has been so much struck with this reflection, that you have already granted, of your own accord,

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accord, a considerable diminution upon that object. Shall we venture to consider this testimony of your bounty, as a motive to hope for the total suppression of those taxes? and, if the calamities of the war will not admit of this at present, may not we at least flatter ourselves, that they will not last longer than the war for which they have been renewed?

The circumstances which oblige your Majesty to establish imposts oppressive to your people, suspend, at the same time, the demands of your Courts, and do not permit them to represent to you the misery to which that people are reduced, with all the energy which such a case would require. It must, however, be owned, Sire, that this is the principal object of the steps we have taken, and this is what excites our grief and our complaints at the view of new taxations; and this motive, so powerful upon the heart of your Majesty, makes us hope from your goodness, still more than from the strength of our representations, that, after having humbled your enemies, your first care will be to bring a necessary alleviation to the misfortunes of your subjects.

But if the necessity of furnishing succours to the State, prevents us, for a moment, from dwelling upon the situation of individuals, there is no consideration that can prevent us from laying before you our alarms upon the anticipated prorogation of the impost, the duration of which your Majesty has limited.

We cannot avoid representing upon this occasion to your Majesty, that a part of the taxes which are levied upon your people, have been likewise imposed originally for the actual wants of the State, and for a limited time, and that it is by repeated prorogations that they are become perpetual.

We are not afraid once more to submit to your consideration, that fatal imposition which we have already represented as the most burthenfome of all, by the arbitrary form in which it is collected.

Established in times resembling the present, it was to last no longer than the war, to the wants of which it was consecrated.

The late King, your august great grandfather, gave his Royal word of it, and joined to it the promise of *not doing, while the war should last, any other extraordinary affairs*; promises which are often obliged to be infringed by necessity, but which it were to be wished were never given, but with a certainty of executing them faithfully. The misfortunes in which your kingdom was plunged, did not permit your subjects to demand the execution of so authentic an engagement. The first years of your Majesty's reign were employed in acquitting immense debts, and it was not in your power to give up a succour become as necessary as in time of war. However, there have since been happier times than those; the public misfortunes have ceased, we have seen order re-established in your finances, and yet the tax still subsists.

These are, Sire, the examples we have before our eyes, and which we recollect whenever a prolongation of imposts is in agitation. If your Court of Aids has neglected, on several important occasions, to make their just remonstrances to you upon this subject, they have undoubtedly imagined, that all the reflections that could possibly be suggested, had been already represented to you, and they were perhaps afraid of fatiguing you by useless repetitions.

But why should we seek to dissemble our fault?

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Let us confess the reproaches we have to make to ourselves:—we have been wanting to one of our principal duties, by postponing, for so long a time, the laying before your Majesty's eyes objects so important for the general administration of your kingdom.

The multiplicity of abuses compels us at length to break silence, and we cannot seize a more favourable opportunity, than the time in which your subjects are going to be burthened with fresh taxations, necessary, without doubt, but the load of which is not less heavy upon the people.

The greater dispatch your Court of Aids has used in the execution of your orders, and in the promulgation of your laws, the more it behoves them to represent with energy to you the abuses they have observed in them, and the alleviations which may be adduced.

The Court would even have fulfilled their duty but imperfectly, if they had limited themselves to the objects contained in the three declarations.

The radical defect of several taxations could not be perceived and felt in all its extent, without bringing all the consequences together.

This general description cannot fail of making a strong and lasting impression upon the mind of your Majesty; and if the present circumstances, and even the greatness of the object, do not permit you to grant, to the distress of your subjects, a relief so speedy as you could wish, your Court of Aids flatter themselves that the important reflections they have been making will ever be present to your Majesty's mind, and they intreat your Majesty that they may be
allowed

allowed to present them to him in more favourable times.

These are, Sire, the most humble and most respectful remonstrances, which your most humble and most obedient, most faithful and most affectionate subjects and servants, the persons holding your Court of Aids, have thought it their duty to present to your Majesty, the Chambers being assembled on Tuesday the 14th of September, 1756.

(Signed)

LAMOIGNON.

N^o VII.

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N° VII.

*Journal of what happened to us at Louisbourg, from the
20th of June 1757.*

WE arrived on the 20th of June, 1757, in the road of Louisbourg, about three o'clock in the afternoon. As soon as M. Dubois de la Motte had cast anchor, he hoisted the square flag on the mizen-mast, the Vice-Admiral's distinction. We found there M. de Beaufremont, who was returned from St. Domingo since Whit-Sunday. He was on board the *Tonnant*; and the other ships of his squadron were, the *Défenseur*, the *Diadème*, *l'Inflexible*, and *l'Eveille*; and his frigates were *la Brune* and *la Comète*.

M. Durevest was arrived two days before us, with the squadron of Provence, excepting *le Vaillant*, which had been separated from them by the fog, and which arrived only five days after.

About a fortnight after our arrival, the ships *le Bizarre* and *le Célèbre* were ordered to set sail for Quebec, to convoy the vessels on board of which was the battalion of Berry. The *Fleur de Lys* set sail some days after, to convoy a small vessel laden with the baggage of the battalion; but, having parted company during the fog, this vessel was taken by a privateer; all the crew, however, escaped upon land. The *Fleur de Lys* came back after a ten days cruize, without having met any thing but a merchantman, which very happily entered here: she was laden with provisions for the squadron.

The

The Chevalier de Grasse came back the 10th of June, with the schooner upon which he cruized round Halifax; he brought us no certain news of the motions of the English. He had landed upon the coast a man named Gautier, who is acquainted with the language of the savages: this man took two of them, with whom he was acquainted along with him, and they went together as far as the gates of Halifax; they killed five Englishmen, and brought off one prisoner, who says that Admiral Holbourn is expected from England with 28 ships of the line and 80 transports.

The 19th July, M. Boishebert brought from Canada a hundred and fifty savages, and as many Canadians, whom he conducted through woods and mountains with a great deal of trouble and fatigue. They are encamped two leagues from hence: fifteen of those got drunk yesterday, and went to a woman's house to ask her for more drink; she refusing to give them any, they attempted to strangle her; the guard was called, and came immediately; one of the savages laid his hand upon the Corporal's gun, as soon as he entered, but the soldier who followed him, gave him a blow, and obliged him to let go his hold: the savages surrounded the three men, who wanted to fire, but the Corporal very prudently prevented them, and the savages were beaten out of the house. Whoever gives any liquor to these people is liable to be punished by being sent to the galleys; this punishment has not yet been inflicted, but if the first person who gives them liquor were to be hanged up immediately, such dismal adventures would not happen so often.

20th of July. Our crews begin to recover: those who are in good health go out to wood and water,

water. We are all repaired at present, and ready to put to sea again. In the mean time, at all events, we are employed in making a garden, from which we hope to gather sallad some time hence; which is a great matter in this country, where it is very scarce. We go a fishing every day; there is plenty of fish here, which is of great service to the crews, for there are no other refreshments.

A battery is going to be erected on the corner of the islet, capable of bearing at a distance; for there was none there before, so that no ship could be fired upon till she arrived in the very road. The guns of the Royal battery, which the English made use of in the last siege, to take the town, are to be employed for that purpose.

The fortifications of the town are still carried on very vigorously, under the inspection of M. Franquet, Chief engineer of New France, and Brigadier in the King's armies. It is said that he is a very able man. At present he has given orders to demolish the Black Cape, which is a mountain of rocks, half a quarter of a league from the town, and where batteries might be erected to command it.

The 17th, the two frigates the *Comète* and the *Brune* set sail, in order to cruize for some time, and to succour a merchantman, which is blocked up by a brigantine four leagues from hence.

The 25th, they returned to port with the vessel, which had had a smart engagement with another merchantman.

The 1st of August, a vessel from la Rochelle arrived here, laden with all kinds of merchandize and provisions. She only met a small privateer, which chased her for some time. Orders are given to raise
three

three companies of volunteers, taken from the *pilotins* of the ships. The 2d, M. Genouil reviewed the three companies of volunteers and the battalion of marines.

The 3d, half a dozen savages, who went with Gautier a fortnight ago, arrived; they brought with them three Englishmen prisoners, of whom very interesting things are reported.

We went yesterday to see the camp of the savages M. Boishebert brought from Canada; there are 150 of them, and as many Canadians; they are all tolerably well armed, and seem to be very desirous of serving the King, whom they call their *Faiber of Paris*. They are encamped in a creek towards the bay of Gabarus, where the English landed when they took the town. Good intrenchments have been made there, with some pieces of canon, to prevent the English from landing, in case they should attempt it.

Upon the intelligence M. Dubois de la Motte has received, that the English were to come and make some attempts, he caused intrenchments to be thrown up in almost all the places where a descent could be practicable. The most proper creek for this purpose was, that of the Great Laurembeck; and accordingly he had put more canon and troops there.

The 7th of August I received orders from the Commissioner of the Squadron to quit the vessel, and go and encamp at Laurembeck, to provide for the subsistence of the troops.

The 8th, I embarked on board the schooner, to convey provisions sufficient to subsist 800 men for twelve days: they arrived the next day. My first

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care was to have barracks constructed, to shelter the provisions from bad weather.

The 9th, the troops for guarding these three creeks came to their posts; besides 600 marines, there were 200 volunteers taken from the *pilatins* of the whole squadron, commanded by officers of the navy. At first there was a great confusion, as well in the distribution of provisions, as in the arrangement of each post: but at present every thing is in good order, we are ready to give the English a good reception. As there are several other places favourable for landing, the General has taken care to send troops there.

The 19th, in the evening, we saw 21 sail of English ships, consisting of 16 or 17 ships of the line, and the rest frigates. They came near enough to the city clearly to distinguish the ships that are in the harbour. The 20th, we again perceived them in the morning; but the fog coming on concealed them from us.

The camp was originally intended to last only twelve days, but as the English have not yet made any attempt, the General, being afraid of their return, has caused provisions to be delivered to us for twelve days more. For my part, I do not believe we shall consume them all; because this is the time when high winds are very frequent, which will oblige them to put to sea; for should they blow while they remain upon our coast, they would be in great danger.

The General has given orders for the ships that were at the farthest part of the bay to be towed up, in order to anchor in the great road, that they may be near at hand to set sail with the whole fleet, upon the first signal.

We

We are impatiently expecting the English to come to a resolution, either one way or another. A vessel from la Rochelle, laden with provisions, arrived yesterday, which reported that it had seen the English squadron in the south-west.

The English not having appeared again, M. Du-bois de la Motte has judged that it was not proper to keep the detachment of marines and the volunteers in the camp of Laurembeck any longer; accordingly, he has given orders to M. de Castillon, Commander of the camp, to strike the tents, and re-imbark the troops in the sloops, which were come to fetch them from the further end of the bay.

With regard to the affairs of Canada, the following is a circumstantial letter, which will inform you of them.

N^o VIII.

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N^o VIII.

Copy of a Letter written from Quebec, the 10th of August 1757, with regard to the affairs which have passed in Canada.

SINCE the capture of Chouaghen, all the villages of the five Iroquois nations have determined to join us, or to remain neuter. In the month of November last, they sent an embassy to the General, composed of 200 of their principal Chiefs. They remained at Montréal near two months, where they were received with every testimony of friendship. They presented to our Governor several necklaces, specifying matters of importance to the colony. One of the necklaces was to assure us, that they had seen with pleasure the success of our enterprize upon Oswego, or Chouaghen; another, specified their engagements never to permit the English to form new establishments upon Lake Ontario, or in the neighbourhood; another, was to induce us to establish, in the midst of their villages, magazines to furnish them with what they should want, and to receive the produce of their chase in exchange; another, was to offer us their young warriors to assist us in fighting the enemy. All these proposals have been received very favourably; and, in order to give them certain testimonies of it, they were laden with presents, before they returned to their villages.

The 21st of January, M. de Rouilly, doing the duty of Major at St. Frederic, received orders from M. de Lusignan, Commander of the fort of that

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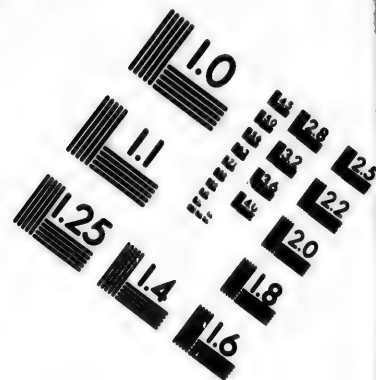
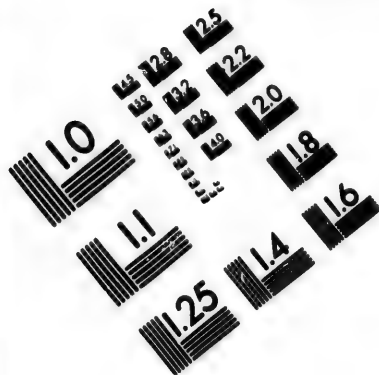
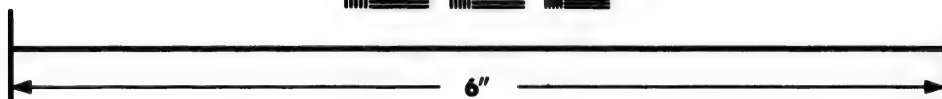
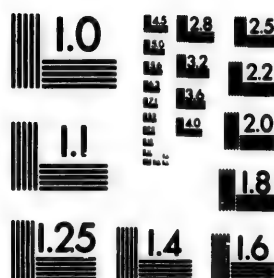


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name, to repair to the fort of Carillon, to convey there provisions of all kinds, with eight carriages, each drawn by two horses, and escorted by fifteen soldiers, one serjeant, and two officers of the Royal Rouffillon, and of the navy. Three of the carriages, with ten soldiers, had led the van, and being at the peninsula, M. de Rouilly perceived the enemy coming out of the wood, to the number of 70 or 80 men, who attacked the three carriages; seven of our men were taken prisoners, and three escaped, by retreating upon the horses. The enemy pursued them, but in vain. M. de Rouilly detached a man on horseback to acquaint M. de Lusignan with this event, who immediately sent a reinforcement of 100 men, without any provisions, and little ammunition, as well savages as Canadian soldiers or volunteers. Four officers, five cadets, and two volunteers, were afterwards sent off to convey provisions and ammunition, and our little detachment made a forced march to intercept the enemy: At two o'clock in the afternoon they arrived at the place where they were to wait for them; an hour after they saw the English, who were marching on slowly and singing. Half of our detachment made a discharge of musketry, which had no effect. The action was begun with obstinacy, and lasted till night; the enemy in their flight seized upon an advantageous post. At eight o'clock at night, two Canadians came to acquaint the Commander that the ammunition failed. Twenty-five men were dispatched to bring some up, and returned at nine o'clock; the enemy then quitted the field of battle, and fled towards the Bay:—their loss consisted of 40 men killed, among which were three officers; and eight prisoners, two of whom were wounded;—those who fled were,

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in all probability, almost all wounded, since only three of them got back to Fort George, from whence they were detached. We have lost on this occasion eleven men, who died upon the field of battle, among whom is included one savage; we had twenty-six men wounded, among whom was M. Basserode, Captain of Languedoc, who commanded the detachment, besides four cadets, seventeen soldiers, two Canadians, and two savages.

M. de Vaudreuil having determined to make a winter campaign, in order to attempt an expedition against Fort George, ordered accordingly a detachment of 1600 men, 300 of which were land forces, commanded by M. de Poulariez, Captain of Grenadiers in the regiment of Bearn, 300 marines, 600 Canadians, and 400 savages. This detachment was commanded by M. de Rigaud, brother to the Governor General, having under his command M. de Longueil, Lieutenant of the King at Quebec, M. Damas, Captain of the troops of the colony, who acted as Adjutant General, and M. le Mercier, Commander of the artillery, acting as Engineer. This detachment set off from Montreal in the beginning of March, and, on account of the bad weather, did not arrive till the 9th, from whence it marched the 15th, passing to the south of the lake St. Sacrament, and encamped the 18th at the distance of a league and a half from Fort George; M. Poulariez, accompanied by Messrs. Dumas, Raimond, and Saviourin, were ordered to reconnoitre that fort within a quarter of a league; they perceived the enemy in motion; this made them doubt the success of the escalade, which had been projected, and upon their report M. Rigaud gave it up. The 19th, the savages and some

Canadians went and fired at the foot of the fort. The 20th, 21st, and 22d, the troops were employed in burning a fortlet, in which there were a few volunteers, who, on the approach of our detachment, took refuge in the fort: 300 boats, four barks, two sheds, one hospital, some barracks, a sawing mill, and a quantity of wood for fire and building, were likewise burnt. M. le Mercier, by order of the Commandant, sent a summons to the Commander of the fort to surrender; but he made answer, that if he were to perish there, with all his garrison, he would defend himself as well in a bad post as in a good one. We then retired.

The English have made no sallies: the savages affirm that they have killed twenty, who came out of the fort; but they are not believed. Our loss has been five men killed and six wounded.

M. Wolf, a partizan officer belonging to the land forces, exasperated at not having been able, after several attempts, to set fire to a bark of 16 guns, which was still upon the stocks, and under the canon of the fort, asked permission to go there with twenty men, giving assurances that he would burn it without making use of the usual artifices: Having obtained permission, he made some faggots of dry wood, took a pot of grease, and a hatchet, with which he made five holes in the body of the vessel, wherein he thrust his wood and his grease, and burnt it in the face of the enemy, who fired strongly from the ramparts, but did not attempt a sally.

Several parties of savages and Canadians have been sent out in the month of June, with a view to acquire certain intelligence of the enemy, and of the movements they might make. These parties have taken

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some prisoners in different places, who all agree in saying that Fort George was defended by fifteen or eighteen hundred men, and Fort Lydius by five or six thousand: that their grand army, as well as Lord Loudon, were gone to the borders of the sea on an important expedition. This intelligence has determined our Generals to lay siege to the first fort, and, according to circumstances, both forts may, perhaps, be attacked at the same time.

The length and the severity of the winter have retarded our navigation, and the arrival of the first ships from Europe; consequently the campaign has not been opened as soon as it was proposed, so that the last divisions of our troops have not been able to arrive at Fort Vaudreuil or Carillon till towards the end of the month of June. The artillery, and every thing necessary for a siege, arrived there as soon, notwithstanding the difficulty of navigating and transport. M. Jacaw, who was been made Captain of artillery this year, has signalized his zeal upon this occasion; he has invented a boat, in which three men can make use of a six-pounder, which is as serviceable in a retreat, as in pursuing the enemy; I believe that this kind of boat will be of great service upon the lake St. Sacrament, as it's motion is easy, as it draws very little water, and is not bigger than a canoe for eight men. Nevertheless, the men are sheltered from the musketry in it, and the gun only appears when it is let off.

The Marquis of Montcalm set out from Montréal the 13th of July, and arrived at Carillon the 18th. The 20th he detached M. de St. Ours, an officer of the colony, with 10 chosen Canadians, five of whom were brothers, called the Paul de Sorel, in order to

proceed in making discoveries on the lake. When they arrived facing the Sugar-loaf rock, five English barges, with sixty men in each, came out of a creek, which projected into a point, and surrounded them, with 150 more English who were on land: The canoe of M. de St. Ours had the good fortune to escape, and to gain a little island; they there waited steadily for the enemy, and, when they were within half pistol-shot, he fired his six pounder upon them, which threw their barges into confusion; the second and third firing disconcerted them totally: they shamefully retreated, and M. de St. Ours returned to Carillon with his little troop, after having killed about fifty of the English; he was only slightly wounded; one of the Pauls received five shot, but was very little hurt.

This little adventure having discovered to M. de Montcalm, that the enemy's intention was to insult our advanced posts, to endeavour, without doubt, to take some prisoners, he detached M. Marin, with 300 savages, and 100 Canadians, to make incursions towards the river Chicot. He set out from Carillon the 21st, and the same day he got to the end of the bay, where he found a patrolle of ten English, whom he killed; the savages scalped them, and 100 of the party returned to Carillon: he continued his march towards Fort Lydius; and the 22d he met an advanced guard of that post, consisting of 50 men, whom he likewise killed, except one man, who was taken prisoner. From this place again, about a hundred of the savages, after having scalped the dead, returned to Carillon. There only remained 180 men with M. Marin. He pursued his way, and arrived the 23d in view of the enemy's camp, under the

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the canon of Fort Lydius : he fired his volley there at day-break, killed several of the enemy, and spread the alarm in their camp. About 2000 men took up arms in a tumultuous manner, and came out of their intrenchments to attack our 180 brave fellows, who had retired to the skirts of the wood ; they fought for two hours and a half against this numerous body, a great many of whom they killed ; the circumstance that will appear the most surprising is, that they had the good fortune of not losing one single man, except a Canadian, who died of fatigue two days after. M. Marin returned to camp the 25th.

The 22d, M. de Montcalm detached also 400 men under the command of M. de Corbiers, an officer of the colony, to wit, 300 savages, and 100 Canadians. They were ordered to beat about the lake, to try to discover the English barges which had attacked M. de St. Ours ; it was not long before they met with the enemy. The 25th they perceived, a little beyond the Sugar-loaf rock, 23 barges and two English yawls. Our people gained the island where M. de St. Ours had so well defended himself. The enemy attempted to approach, but when they were within shot, the savages, after having set up their famous war-hoop, fired so fortunately, that the English put out to sea, in order to save themselves by flight ; but it was in vain, our swift canoes of bark, and our boats, soon came up with them, in the middle of the lake, and a most terrible naval engagement then ensued. This party of the enemy was entirely defeated ; it consisted of a Colonel, four Captains, four Lieutenants, four Ensigns, and 360 private. They had set out from Fort George with an intention of carrying off some prisoners from our advanced posts :

twenty-one barges and the skiffs were taken, 180 dead were found in them, and 146 prisoners, among whom were six officers: the two barges which escaped were very roughly handled. It must be owned, that all this has much the appearance of a romance. It is, however, strictly true; and the circumstance that must appear most singular is, that upon this occasion again we have not lost one man.

Our whole army began their march towards the end of the month for Fort George. It consists of 4000 regular troops, 4000 Canadians, and 2000 savages: 4000 men go by land, under the command of M. de Lévy; 3000 go by the lake, with M. de Montcalm at their head; and the remainder will occupy some posts which are necessary to be guarded. We shall have forty pieces of canon with us in this expedition. God send us a happy success!

Copy of a letter written from Quebec, the 17th of August 1757, concerning the surrender and capitulation of Fort George.

WE were yesterday informed, by an extraordinary courier, that Fort George was in the possession of the King of France. This is the capitulation.

Articles of capitulation granted to Lieutenant Colonel Monro, for his Britannic Majesty's garrison of Fort William Henry, or George, the intrenched camp which is joined to it, and it's dependencies, by M. de Montcalm, General of the troops of his most Christian Majesty in Canada, the 9th of August 1757.

Article

Article I.

The garrison of Fort William Henry, and the troops which are in the intrenched camp above mentioned, shall march out with the baggage and arms only of the officers and soldiers. They are to retire to Fort Edward, escorted by a detachment of French troops, and by some officers attached to the savages as interpreters, and are to set out early tomorrow morning.

Article II.

The gate of the fort shall be given up, after the signing of the capitulation, to the troops of his most Christian Majesty, and the intrenched camp, at the time of the departure of his Britannic Majesty's troops.

Article III.

All the artillery, ammunition, and provisions, in a word, every thing except the effects of the officers and soldiers, as specified in the first article, shall be fairly given up to his most Christian Majesty's troops; and for this purpose an exact inventory shall be delivered of the warlike stores, and other effects, which are the object of this article, observing that it extends to the fort, the intrenchment, and their dependencies.

Article IV.

The garrison of the fort, intrenched camp, and dependencies, shall not serve for eighteen months, from the

the date hercof, against his most Christian Majesty, or against his allies ; and with the capitulation, shall be delivered an accurate list of those troops, in which are to be comprehended the names of the staff and other officers, engineers, officers of artillery, commissaries, and other persons in office.

Article V.

In the course of three months, all the officers, soldiers, Canadians, women, and savages, who have been taken upon land since the beginning of the war in North America, shall be sent back to Carillon ; and, by producing acknowledgments from the French Commanders to whom they shall be remitted, a like number of the garrison of Fort George shall be enabled to serve again, according to the list which will be delivered by the English officer conducting the prisoners.

Article VI.

An officer shall be left as a hostage, till the return of the detachment sent to escort the troops of his Britannic Majesty,

Article VII.

All the sick and wounded, who shall be found unable to be transported to Fort Edward, shall remain under the protection of the Marquis de Montcalm, who will take the necessary care of them, and will send them back to their garrison as soon as they are cured,

Article

Article VIII.

No more provisions shall be taken for the subsistence of his Britannic Majesty's troops, than what are sufficient for to-day and to-morrow,

Article IX.

The Marquis de Montcalm, desirous of shewing to Lieutenant Colonel Monro, and his garrison, marks of his esteem, on account of their honourable defence, grants them a six-pounder.

Done in the trenches under Fort William Henry, the 9th of August 1757, at noon.

Granted in the name of his most Christian Majesty, according to the powers vested in me by the Marquis of Vaudreuil, Governor and Lieutenant General for the King in New France.

The English did not defend themselves quite so well at this place as at Oswego; we opened the trenches the 4th of this month, and, as you see, they surrendered on the 9th at noon. Their loss consisted of 150 men, six of which were officers of distinction. Their garrison consisted of 2000 men, and they were in want neither of artillery nor provisions of any kinds. Nevertheless, this conquest has only cost us 25 men; to wit, fourteen savages, six Canadians, and five soldiers; and we had about as many wounded. I believe we shall undertake no other enterprise this campaign.

We subjoin here an account, for the explanation of the beginning of the war, which ought to have been inserted before, but which we have but lately found.

Account of Fort Duquesne, situated in 40 degrees 30 minutes latitude, upon the confluence of the rivers Malanqué and Ohio.

About the year 1750, the English built a kind of fort near the river Malanqué, at 400 miles distance from Quebec, where that river then discharged itself in the Ohio. Some victuallers came to the last-mentioned river, and built huts upon the borders of it, for the convenience of their trade. Information was received of this at Quebec, and, as it is necessary to go down the Ohio to reach the Mississippi, it was feared that this establishment might hereafter become considerable enough to intercept the communication between these two colonies; to prevent which, it was resolved also to establish a fortification there. In 1752, a detachment of Canadians and savages was sent out, who having found the victuallers upon the Ohio, brought them away prisoners to Quebec. Some militia and other troops were immediately raised, who went in the spring of the year 1753 to that same river. They built there a fort, upon the confluence of the rivers Ohio and Malanqué, composed of four bastions, one of which bears upon the angle of the rivers. That part of it which is towards the water is only palisaded; but that towards land is made into a kind of terrace, supported upon a frame of wood. The whole of it consists of twenty-six toises, from one side to the other, and this is what is called fort Duquesne, a
name

name which it derives from the Captain of the ship who commanded then in that colony.

When this settlement was completed, an Officer with a detachment of fifteen men was sent to summon the English to abandon the fort which they had built upon our territory ; this claim was founded upon our being in possession of all that country, as far as the mountains which separate us from New England. The only answer given to this Officer, was a discharge of musketry, by which he, with some of his men, was killed, and the rest taken prisoners. A detachment of 250 men, consisting of militia and savages, was immediately sent, who surrounded the fort, and obliged it to capitulate. The garrison consisted of 400 men. The English obliged themselves, by the capitulation, to quit that establishment ; and acknowledged, that the only reason of their being attacked, was to revenge the death of the French they had assassinated at the gates of their fort the preceding year. It was agreed, that two Captains should remain as hostages 'till the return of the prisoners, whom the English had sent to Virginia, and whom they promised to return within two months : in consequence of this promise, they were suffered to depart without molestation, and the two hostages were sent to Quebec, where they still remain.

During the winter of 1754, information was received, that the English were making great preparations, in order to destroy Fort Duquesne. Upon this intelligence, the militia of the strait, and the fort of Michilimakinac, as well as the savages of the environs, were ordered to march ; some troops were also detached from Quebec : this made all together 1,200 men, as well savages as Canadians ; there still remained

mained some at the passage of the river *Aux bœufs*, who have not been able to take any part in this action.

According to people who have some knowledge of the country, it is pretended, that, to preserve this post, a more considerable establishment should be made there, and be put in a condition to be able to wait for succours, which must necessarily be a long while before they can arrive, either from the strait or from Niagara, which are the nearest posts.

Engagement of the 9th of July, 1755.

Information was received at Fort Duquesne, that the English were set out to come and take it by surprise; the Commandant immediately formed a detachment of 250 French and 650 savages, to go and meet the enemy.

This party began their march the 9th, at eight o'clock in the morning, and at noon they found themselves within sight of the English, who were likewise at no greater distance than three leagues from the fort. The engagement began immediately: the fire of the enemy's artillery obliged our people to retreat twice. M. de Beaupreau, Commandant, was killed at the third firing. M. Dumas succeeded him, and did his duty perfectly well. Our Frenchmen, supported by the savages, obliged the English to give way, though we had no artillery; the enemy began a retreating fight, but finding that the ardour of our people, far from diminishing, was, on the contrary, increasing, being emboldened by success, they were obliged to give way, after four hours of very strong firing. M. Dumas, who had only a few Frenchmen left with him, would not engage in the pursuit of the enemy,

enemy, he thought it more prudent to return to the fort; but the next day he intrusted this expedition to the savages of the strait, and those of Michilimackinac. We therefore remained masters of the field of battle.

It is computed that the enemy's loss amounts to 1,500 men, a hundred oxen, about 400 horses, their standards, military chest, artillery, &c.

On our part, we have only lost three officers, five soldiers, and fifteen savages: and we have about twenty wounded.

The 13th of August we heard that M. Dieskau, Brigadier of the army, sent to command the troops which came over in the squadron of M. Dubois de la Motte, was upon his march at the head of the battalions of la *Reine* and Bearn, in order to relieve Fort Frederic, upon the river St. Laurence.

The zeal was so great among the inhabitants of Montréal, that neither age, nor condition, nor any reason whatsoever, has appeared sufficient to dispense them from following the Commandant:

N^o IX.

A summary of what passed during the appearance and stay of the English fleet, commanded by Admiral Hawke, on the coasts of Aunis and Saintonge, from the 20th of September to the 2d of October, 1757.

ON Tuesday the 20th of September 1757, the drums beat the General at Rochefort, at nine o'clock in the evening, on the appearance of the English fleet in the Channel. The *Prudent* and the *Capricieux*, commanded by Messrs. Desgoutte and la Filliere the elder, Captains of ships, were at that time in the harbour; they tried to get into the river, and succeeded.

On Wednesday the 21st, at six o'clock in the evening, the drums beat another General, to give notice that the Squadron was advancing; that it consisted of eighteen * large ships, three frigates, fifty-eight vessels, two bomb-ketches, and two fire-ships.

On Thursday the 22d, this formidable fleet was seen coming in, towards half-an-hour after six in the evening, near Fouras. The island of Aix concealed it, so that the first ship was only ten toises distant from the landing-place. M. du Pin de Belugard, Captain of a ship, who commanded in the fort of Fouras, was at that time employed in making the platforms, four or five of which were not yet finished:

* There were 18 ships, 4 frigates, 2 bomb-ketches, 2 fire-ships, and 80 transports.

there were only there, at that time, 150 men detached from the regiment of Bearn, with as many from the regiment of Bigorre, and 700 men to guard the coasts. Lieutenant Colonel Rouergue commanded the troops which were without the fort.

On Friday the 23d, M. de Langeron, Lieutenant General, arrived at the fort at six o'clock in the morning. He collected the few troops of marines, and Swiss, which composed a battalion of 800 men, commanded by M. du Poyet, Captain of a ship, who was encamped at Vergeroux. In the morning, a little wood, situated between Fort Fouras and the redoubt of Vergeroux, was reconnoitred. It was intrenched on the same day with extraordinary expedition. In the morning, eleven of the largest ships were in the road, at the place where our ships usually anchor. At half an hour past twelve o'clock at noon, the *Magnanime*, one of their ships, ran aground upon a rock which faces the battery of the Isle of Aix; two other ships also drew as near as they could, and the firing from the *Magnanime* was so fierce, that the battery of 16 guns, commanded by M. de la Boucherie Fromenteau, Lieutenant of artillery, was entirely destroyed, and the gunners, who could not stand the langrage-shot, fell flat upon the ground, and M. de la Boucherie could not make them get up again. In the action there was one gunner killed, and seven or eight wounded. M. de Puibernier, Sub Lieutenant of a ship, was wounded in the thigh by a musket-shot, and bruised in the face. An Officer of militia, who commanded in the fort, struck the flag; others affirm, that it was knocked down by a canon-shot, which carried away the fastening.

fastening. However that may be, the attack and the reduction of the fort lasted only three quarters of an hour *. At seven o'clock in the evening, the Royal regiment of dragoons went to Fouras. Our fears were great, and with reason, that they would not attack Fouras ; but that they would enter the river, where the defence was not yet prepared. If they had done this, we should have been ruined without resource, and the port of Rochefort would have been no more.

They were not more enterprizing on Saturday the 24th, and our fears still increased, which were carried to the utmost on Sunday the 25th, because the fleets altered their position ; the largest ships, to the number of nine, remained at anchor at the island of Aix, and the remainder of the fleet ranged themselves upon a line before the *Platin d'Angoulin* ; it was said, that in this position the largest ships would attack the fort of Fouras, and of the island Madame, that the others would seize upon the entrance of the river, and that those who were before the *Platin*, would dispose their troops for landing upon their sloops and flat-bottomed boats, and would from thence set off to enter the river, and make their descent at the *Platin* ; that they would form themselves there, that part being only defended by the regiments of Bearn and of Bigorre, which, though incomplete, had yet furnished three hundred men, all of them commanded by M. Rouffiac : in a word, they have attempted nothing, and we owe our salvation only to their inaction, and to Providence. The fleet continued in the same position 'till it's departure.

* It lasted an hour and a quarter.

The

The 26th, 27th, and 28th, on which were the highest tides, the weather being favourable, several of their sloops were employed in sounding the coast; but our forts obliged them to retire, when they got within canon-shot; at that time we had about eight thousand men upon our coasts; namely, three thousand at Angoulin, commanded by M. de Rouffiac; two thousand at Fouras, by M. de Langeron; and three thousand in the Saintonge, from the extent of the Isle Madame to Soubise; without reckoning what troops there might be at Oleron, and towards Brouage and Marennes: these last were commanded by M. de Surgeres. We were then in tolerable good order at Rochefort; there were upon our ramparts sixty-two pieces of canon, from eight to thirty-six pounders.

On Thursday the 29th, a bomb-ketch drew as near as it could to Fouras, and flung five bombs in it, which fell at more than 100 toises from the fort. Our two armed sloops, which were in a little creek of Fouras, commanded by Messrs. Beaumanoir and Feron, Sub-lieutenants of ships of the port of Brest, advanced, and fired several of their 24 pounders, three of which reached the bomb-ketch. Upon a signal she made, a frigate and several sloops were detached, which took her in tow; she was already got near the coast. Others say that they only accompanied her.

On Friday the 30th, every thing remained quiet and in the same position, except the ships of war, which quitted the road of the island of Aix, and joined all those which had still continued in a line before the *Platin d'Angoulin*; and it was perceived, that

they suffered themselves to be driven by the ebb-tide into the road of Chef de Baye: several small vessels, which had remained in the road of the isle of Aix, executed the same manœuvre, so that the road was cleared of every ship. Towards the evening it was perceived that a frigate was returning in full sail; she remained some time across the isle of Aix.

The 1st of October, they set sail with a fair wind at N. E. at a time when there was the less reason to believe they would; and in the course of the morning disappeared entirely.

On Sunday the 22d of the same month, in the morning, the camp was partly raised, and our marines, as well as the Swiss, returned to Rochefort.

It is not known what route the Squadron has taken, it is however very certain that it has disappeared.

It is probable that the King's household troops, who had begun their march on the 29th, will receive orders on their way, not to return, but to halt.

Treatment of the garrison, and the inhabitants of the island of Aix, by the English Generals.

The garrison was made prisoners of war; the regiment of militia, the gunners, and sailors, were put on board the English fleet, as well as the 50 masons which were in the island for the King's works; which amount in all to 500 men.

The Officers of artillery, and Bombardiers, were set at liberty upon their parole, and cannot serve any more during this war.

The

The fortifications have been razed by the mines that were sprung for that purpose, in which they lost five of their men.

Two culverines, and several mortars, as well as the clock of the fort, and that of the church, have been embarked in their ships; and they broke off the trunnions of the canon that they left behind them.

The provisions which were found in the island belonging to the King, were given to the inhabitants by the enemy, to indemnify them for their losses, upon condition that they should not be taken from them after their departure.

They have also given 2000 livres * to be distributed among the said inhabitants, in consideration of the damages they may have sustained.

A sailor who attempted to ravish a woman of the island, was prevented by several English Officers; they had him punished on board their ship, and made up a purse between them of 50 crowns †, which they sent to the woman, to indemnify her for the riot, the brutality of the sailor had occasioned in her house.

The following is the state of the port when the English came there, by which one may judge of the losses our navy would have sustained.

* Above fourscore pounds sterling.

† Near six guineas.

A P P E N D I X.

Ships fitted out at the port of Rochfort, at the end of 1756 and in 1757.

<i>Names of Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>	<i>Destination.</i>
<i>Le Duc de Bourgogne</i>	80	M. Aubigny, Commodore;	At Louisbourg.
<i>Le Glorieux</i> — —	74	M. de Chavagne, Captain of a ship.	At Louisbourg.
<i>Le Florissant</i> — —	74	M. de Maureville, ditto	Still in the port, without arms or crew.
<i>Le Prudent</i> — —	74	The Marquis Desgouttes, ditto.	In her road to Brest, and it is said she is to join M. de Conflans's fleet.
<i>Le Juste</i> — —	70	The Chevalier de Macnamara,	At Brest, and is part of M. de Conflans's squadron.
<i>Le Dauphin Royal</i>	70	M. Durtubie,	At Louisbourg.
<i>Le Hardi</i> — —	64	M. de la Touche le Vaner, Captain,	At Martinico, & at St. Domingo.
<i>L'Inflexible</i> — —	64	M. de Tilly, ditto, dead,	At Louisbourg, belonging to the squadron of M. Beaufremont.
<i>Le Capricieux</i> — —	64	M. de la Filure, ditto	In the Road to Brest.
<i>L'Ecuillé</i> — —	64	M. de la Merville, ditto,	At Louisbourg.
<i>Le Raisnable</i> — —	64	The Chevalier de Rohan,	Not yet launched, but equipped.
<i>L'Aigle</i> — —	50	— — —	At Brest.
<i>L'Aluin</i> — —	50	— — —	— — —
<i>Le Harcourt</i> — —	50	M. Duchaffaut, Captain,	Brest.

UPON

A P P E N D I X.

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UPON THE STOCKS.

Names of Ships. Guns.

<i>L'Impétueux</i>	—	90	The frame and the keel made, but not yet mounted.
<i>La Bellone</i>	—	30	Three quarters made, but still on the stocks, and without workmen
<i>L'Orion</i>	—	74	These are not yet begun, they are only ordered, and the plans of them made.
<i>L'Astronome</i>	—	70	
<i>Unknown</i>	—	64	
<i>The Frigate la Re-</i>			
<i>vueche</i>	—	30	

FRIGATES.

Names of Ships.	Guns.	Commanders.	Destinations.
<i>L'Hermione</i>	—	26 M. du Bos, Lieutenant of a ship,	
<i>L'Atalante</i>	—	34 M. de Lizardais, Captain,	At Cayenne, and afterwards at Martinico.
<i>Le Zéphir</i>	—	30 M. de Beauchefne, ditto,	
<i>La Diane</i>	—	30 —	Not yet fitted out, but intended to be so.
<i>La Fidelle</i>	—	26 M. de Vaudreuil Lieutenant,	
<i>La Frisante</i>	—	24 M. Boscal de Real, ditto,	Upon a cruize.
<i>La Valeur</i>	—	20 —	
<i>La Hyacinthe</i>	—	M. Garnur, Captain of a fire-ship,	Fitted out for an unknown destination.

P I N K S.

<i>L'Outarde</i>	—	16 M. Pingnest,	At St. Domingo.
<i>La Fortune</i>	—	M. Riouffe, Port-lieutenant,	At Cape Breton.
<i>Le Rhinoceros</i>	—	—	On an unknown expedition.
<i>La Messager</i>	—	—	In England, a parliamentary ship.

FLAT-BOTTOMED BOATS or COASTING VESSELS:

*La Chevre.**La Caille.**La Perdrix.**La Pie.*

FISHING BOATS.

Le Cormorand, Commanded by M. Soulard, Officer in the India service.*Le St. Jean.*

CARCASS SLOOP.

L'Anguille, M. Feron, Sub-lieutenant.*L'Aventur*, M. Beaumanoir, ditto.*State of the troops that are to go into the country of Aunis.*

Regiments.	Battalions.	Places where they are.	Departure.	Arrival at Rochelle.
French Guards,	2	Paris	29 Sept.	12 October
Ditto,	2	Paris	1 Oct.	14
Swiss Guards,	2	Paris	3 Oct.	16
Limousin,	2	Caen	27 Sept.	13
Royal Vaisseaux,	2	Valogne	29 Sept.	15
Languedoc,	4 squadrons	St. Lo	2 Oct.	17
Bouillon,	2 battalions	Mezieres	28 Sept.	19
Body Guards,	—	Verfailles	30 Sept.	22
Mousquetaires,	—	Paris	2 & 4 Oct.	23 & 29
Light and Heavy Horse,	—	Verfailles	5 Oct.	26
Horse Grenadiers,	—	Troyes	5 Oct.	27

N° XI.

Letter from an Intendant to a Master of Requests.

ALL is lost, my dear friend ; the Intendants are disgraced, the Masters of Requests are less than nothing ; all emulation to get forward by money is at an end : a nursery of great men is extinguished. In a word, the Secretaries of State are taken from every situation where able men are expected to be met with : high birth, and great dignities, will now only furnish an additional claim for aspiring to these offices. How will the State be able to subsist ? A noviciate, and gradual rise, will be required in every condition. Formerly, a man bought a place of Master of Requests ; he attended the business, and made his report to the Council ; if he displayed any talents for eloquence, he was made an Intendant, and in that post the Statesman began. A Prime Minister, or rather a Monarch in his province, he accustomed himself to the charms of arbitrary power, he hardened himself to refusals : by degrees, a man used to raise himself above the prejudices of a citizen, and, after having established roads, raised and pulled down gates of towns, and gone through some provinces, he returned a complete Statesman, of universal knowledge ; sufficiently skilled in war to hazard the project of a campaign, and disclaim a General ;—in naval affairs, to contradict an Officer, and trust to a Clerk ;—in finances, to exact new imposts ;—in foreign affairs, to know and entertain Ambassadors. Frequently, even the same man, equally fit for all these several employ-
ments,

ments, was seen to pass rapidly from one to the other, and to fill them with the same ease, and similar success.

Every thing is changed, my dear friend; the affairs of war will be intrusted to the management of a man grown old in the service; he will be impowered to reward in others, the same kind of services he has rendered in his time; if it were only from motives of vanity, he will not fail to esteem them.

As for foreign affairs, with rank and merit, and without any other apprenticeship than an embassy to the neighbouring Courts—after having been a few years acquainted with the secrets of the State, and with negotiations—a man will be enabled to influence the destiny of Europe. The only thing necessary will be; to take from the navy some one of those old warriors; that he may declare in the Council, with an air of authority, that fleet which you send out is not half equipped—those colonies you talk of, I have seen—that Officer who is accused, or neglected, has fought by my side—that Commissary is an insolent fellow—this Clerk is a rascal. You cannot but be convinced, my dear friend, of all the confusion which such an arrangement will produce. Every Minister promoted, through the means of his profession, will bring into his department the spirit of his corps, and his attachment to it;—whereas we, who are totally unconnected, ever unbiassed and ever indifferent, cannot be suspected of partiality.

If all great actions are to be rewarded, they will become ruinous; and the King, who was served for nothing, will not be rich enough to pay for all the limbs that are lost in his service. The suppression of survivorships will also be the effect of the continuation

of

of this system. The cares and abilities of fathers will then become useless to their children; they will be obliged to follow the same steps, pass through the same gradations, and acquire the same talents. What a loss of time!—It is evident, that the brilliancy of the Court can only be maintained by traffic;—if every thing is to be done by justice, who will pay for influence? The Dutchess of ——— will lose a hundred thousand crowns * per annum, and her friends in proportion. Add to all these evils, the pride and haughtiness of that Nobility which we took care to mortify, and did not want for opportunities. Who for the future will waste their time in our anti-chambers, or cringe to our Clerks? If the Intendant's wife will visit Ladies, she must be extremely complaisant; if she be but pretty, she will have none but admirers. As for us, what prospect have we? To what purpose should we fish out the strength or weakness of a province? to what end give the most flattering account of it; report the country populous—the lands fertile—trade flourishing: increase taxes, you will increase industry? All this care will lead to nothing but to continue Intendants of Justice, Police, and Finance, till we grow old. To be called *Monseigneur* in our province, and scarcely *Monseigneur* at Court: and yet, notwithstanding this high stile, make but the least innovation, even for the pleasantest of your companions, or the most useful of your friends, an outcry is made: you imprison,—the Commandant interferes; you write,—he gets the better; you issue an ordinance,—the Parliament cancels it; you apply for *letters de cachet*,—your party is

* Twelve thousand five hundred pounds.

no longer in place—no body attends to you. My friend, you are happy, believe me ; you have learned to ride and to fence, instead of studying law. You are young, and we are at war. As for me, who never supposed I should have more occasion for law than for fencing, I have studied neither the one nor the other ; for which reason I am going, like a wise man, a philosopher, or, if you please, a disappointed man, to retire to my castle ; luckily, while my reign lasted, I made a handsome road to it. The bridge was not in a line with the avenue ; I built another in a much finer stile : my prospect was confined by a private house ; I pulled it down ; I cut through a hill, and blew up a rock : ten or a dozen men were killed in this mine at the bottom of my garden ; I had compassion on their wives and children, and put them in the hospital. I am still in want of some ground to make my park circular : this I shall have credit enough to get adjudged in my favour ; it is the least they can do for an Intendant, who is on the point of retiring. I advise you to sell your place immediately, if you can find any fool to buy it. Get your camp equipage, and be one of the first in the field ; courage and patience will one day or another bring you to that honour and glory you thirst after, if honour and glory are worth thirsting after, when they cannot be got without deserving them.

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* N. B. N° X. professes, at page 138 of the third volume of the original, to give a manuscript relating to Admiral Byng; but this is not to be found in the original.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.